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AMERICA

COLONIZATION
1562—1753



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 PLYMOUTH IN 1622.
 COVE'S BRADFORD - SHIP TOWN

PLYMOUTH, MASSACHUSETTS, IN 1622. (From a painting by W. L. Williams)

AMERICA

Great Crises In Our History
Told by Its Makers

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Volume II
Colonization
1562—1753

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VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOLUME II

	PAGE
THE HUGUENOTS IN FLORIDA. By Francis Parkman .	11
THE FOUNDING OF ST. AUGUSTINE. By Francisco Lopez de Mendoza Grajalas	30
DOMINIQUE DE GOURGUES. By Francis Parkman . .	40
THE FIRST VOYAGE TO ROANOKE.	47
THE COLONY AT ROANOKE. By Ralph Lane	57
THE BIRTH OF VIRGINIA DARE. By John White . .	67
THE SETTLEMENT OF JAMESTOWN. By Captain John Smith	69
THE FOUNDING OF QUEBEC. From the "Voyages" of Samuel de Champlain	82
THE FIRST REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY. By John Twine, its Secretary	90
THE VOYAGE OF THE MAYFLOWER. By Governor Wil- liam Bradford	101
THE MAYFLOWER COMPACT	113
HOW THE PILGRIM FATHERS LIVED. By Governor Ed- ward Winslow	115
FOUNDING OF NEW AMSTERDAM. By Nicholas Jean de Wassenaer	121

	PAGE
THE SETTLEMENT OF MASSACHUSETTS. By Captain Edward Johnson	127
LORD BALTIMORE'S PLANTATION IN MARYLAND	132
THE PEQUOT MASSACRE AT FORT MYSTIC. By Captain John Mason	143
ROGER WILLIAMS IN RHODE ISLAND. By Nathaniel Morton	149
THE FOUNDING OF HARVARD COLLEGE	153
THE FOUNDING OF NEW SWEDEN. By Israel Acrelius	159
THE FIRST WRITTEN CONSTITUTION. By "A General Court at Hartford"	167
THE PERSECUTION OF THE QUAKERS. By James Cudworth	175
JOHN LOCKE AND THE FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS OF CAROLINA. By H. R. Fox Bourne	181
THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF NEW YORK. By John R. Brodhead	187
THE PENALTY FOR NOT GOING TO CHURCH. By the County Court of Middlesex	195
MARQUETTE'S DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI	198
THE DEATH OF MARQUETTE. By Father Claude Dablon	205
THE OUTBREAK OF KING PHILIP'S WAR. By the Reverend William Hubbard	213
THE DEATH OF KING PHILIP. By Captain Benjamin Church	219
BACON'S REBELLION	223
DISCOVERY OF NIAGARA FALLS. By Father Louis Hennepin	231

TABLE OF CONTENTS

7

	PAGE
THE FAMOUS CHARTER OAK AFFAIR. By Alexander Johnston	234
DESCRIPTION OF PENNSYLVANIA. By William Penn .	239
PENN'S TREATY WITH THE INDIANS. Penn's Own Account	245
M. ROBERT CAVELIER DE LA SALLE. By Father Louis Hennepin	256
LETTER FROM ELIOT TO HON. ROBERT BOYLE	260
LEISLER'S REBELLION. By "A Gentleman of the City of New York"	266
PHIPPS, THE FIRST OF OUR SELF-MADE MEN. By the Reverend Cotton Mather	272
WITCHCRAFT IN NEW ENGLAND. By Robert Calef . .	280
THE FOUNDING OF WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE . .	286
THE SETTLEMENT OF LOUISIANA. By Bénard de la Harpe	291
ESTABLISHING THE COLONY OF GEORGIA. By General James Edward Oglethorpe	301
INDENTURED "WHITE SLAVES" IN THE COLONIES. By William Eddis	309
THE SPANISH SETTLE IN CALIFORNIA. By Josiah Royce	314

COLONIZATION

1562—1753

THE HUGUENOTS IN FLORIDA

By Francis Parkman

IN THE year 1562 a cloud of black and deadly portent was thickening over France. Surely and swiftly she glided towards the abyss of the religious wars. None could pierce the future, perhaps none dared to contemplate it: the wild rage of fanaticism and hate, friend grappling with friend, brother with brother, father with son; altars profaned, hearthstones made desolate, the robes of Justice herself bedrenched with murder. In the gloom without lay Spain, imminent and terrible. As on the hill by the field of Dreux, her veteran bands of pikemen, dark masses of organized ferocity, stood biding their time while the battle surged below, and then swept downward to the slaughter,—so did Spain watch and wait to trample and crush the hope of humanity.

In these days of fear, a second Huguenot colony sailed for the New World. The calm, stern man who represented and led the Protestantism of France felt to his inmost heart the peril of the time. He would fain build up a city of refuge for the persecuted sect. Yet Gaspar de Coligny, too high in power and rank to be openly assailed, was forced to act with caution. He must act, too, in the name of the Crown, and in virtue of his office of Admiral of France. A nobleman and a soldier,—for the Admiral of France was

no seaman,—he shared the ideas and habits of his class; nor is there reason to believe him to have been in advance of his time in a knowledge of the principles of successful colonization. His scheme promised a military colony, not a free commonwealth. The Huguenot party was already a political as well as a religious party. At its foundation lay the religious element, represented by Geneva, the martyrs, and the devoted fugitives who sang the psalms of Marot among rocks and caverns. Joined to these were numbers on whom the faith sat lightly, whose hope was in commotion and change. . . .

An excellent seaman and stanch Protestant, Jean Ribaut of Dieppe, commanded the expedition. Under him, besides sailors, were a band of veteran soldiers, and a few young nobles. Embarked in two of those antiquated craft whose high poops and tub-like proportions are preserved in the old engravings of De Bry, they sailed from Havre on the eighteenth of February, 1562. They crossed the Atlantic, and on the thirtieth of April, in the latitude of twenty-nine and a half degrees, saw the long, low line where the wilderness of waves met the wilderness of woods. It was the coast of Florida. . . .

On the next morning, the first of May, they found themselves off the mouth of a great river. Riding at anchor on a sunny sea, they lowered their boats, crossed the bar that obstructed the entrance, and floated on a basin of deep and sheltered water, "boiling and roaring," says Ribaut, "through the multi-

tude of all kind of fish." Indians were running along the beach, and out upon the sand-bars, beckoning them to land. They pushed their boats ashore and disembarked,—sailors, soldiers, and eager young nobles. . . .

They named the river the River of May. It is now the St. John's. . . .

Preliminary exploration, not immediate settlement, had been the object of the voyage; but all was still rose-color in the eyes of the voyagers, and many of their number would gladly linger in the New Canaan. Ribaut was more than willing to humor them. He mustered his company on deck, and made them a harangue. He appealed to their courage and their patriotism, told them how, from a mean origin, men rise by enterprise and daring to fame and fortune, and demanded who among them would stay behind and hold Port Royal for the King. The greater part came forward, and "with such a good will and jolly courage," writes the commander, "as we had much to do to stay their importunity." Thirty were chosen, and Albert de Pierria was named to command them.

A fort was begun on a small stream called the Chenonceau, probably Archer's Creek, about six miles from the site of Beaufort. They named it Charlesfort, in honor of the unhappy son of Catherine de Medicis, Charles the Ninth, the future hero of St. Bartholomew. Ammunition and stores were sent on shore, and on the eleventh of June, with his dimin-

ished company, Ribaut again embarked and spread his sails for France. . . .

Albert, a rude soldier, with a thousand leagues of ocean betwixt him and responsibility, grew harsh, domineering, and violent beyond endurance. None could question or oppose him without peril of death. He hanged with his own hands a drummer who had fallen under his displeasure, and banished a soldier, named La Chère, to a solitary island, three leagues from the fort, where he left him to starve. For a time his comrades chafed in smothered fury. The crisis came at length. A few of the fiercer spirits leagued together, assailed their tyrant, murdered him, delivered the famished soldier, and called to the command one Nicolas Barré, a man of merit. Barré took the command, and thenceforth there was peace.

Peace, such as it was, with famine, homesickness, and disgust. . . . But how to escape? A continent was their solitary prison, and the pitiless Atlantic shut them in. Not one of them knew how to build a ship; but Ribaut had left them a forge, with tools and iron, and strong desire supplied the place of skill. Trees were hewn down and the work begun. Had they put forth to maintain themselves at Port Royal the energy and resource which they exerted to escape from it, they might have laid the corner-stone of a solid colony. . . .

At length a brigantine worthy of Robinson Crusoe floated on the waters of the Chenonceau. They laid in what provision they could, gave all that remained

of their goods to the Indians, embarked, descended the river, and put to sea. A fair wind filled their patchwork sails and bore them from the hated coast. Day after day they held their course, till at length the breeze died away and a breathless calm fell on the waters. Florida was far behind; France farther yet before. Floating idly on the glassy waste, the craft lay motionless. Their supplies gave out. Twelve kernels of maize a day were each man's portion; then the maize failed, and they ate their shoes and leather jerkins. The water-barrels were drained, and they tried to slake their thirst with brine. Several died, and the rest, giddy with exhaustion and crazed with thirst, were forced to ceaseless labor, bailing out the water that gushed through every seam. Head-winds set in, increasing to a gale, and the wretched brigantine, with sails close-reefed, tossed among the savage billows at the mercy of the storm. A heavy sea rolled down upon her, and burst the bulwarks on the windward side. The surges broke over her, and, clinging with desperate gripe to spars and cordage, the drenched voyagers gave up all for lost. At length she righted. The gale subsided, the wind changed, and the crazy, water-logged vessel again bore slowly towards France.

Gnawed with famine, they counted the leagues of barren ocean that still stretched before, and gazed on each other with haggard wolfish eyes, till a whisper passed from man to man that one, by his death, might ransom all the rest. The lot was cast, and it fell on

La Chère, the same wretched man whom Albert had doomed to starvation on a lonely island. They killed him, and with ravenous avidity portioned out his flesh. The hideous repast sustained them till the land rose in sight, when, it is said, in a delirium of joy, they could no longer steer their vessel, but let her drift at the will of the tide. A small English bark bore down upon them, took them all on board, and, after landing the feeblest, carried the rest prisoners to Queen Elizabeth.

ON THE twenty-fifth of June, 1564, a French squadron anchored a second time off the mouth of the River of May. There were three vessels, the smallest of sixty tons, the largest of one hundred and twenty, all crowded with men. René de Laudonnière held command. He was of a noble race of Poitou, attached to the house of Châtillon, of which Coligny was the head; pious, we are told, and an excellent marine officer. . . .

The intervening year since Ribaut's voyage had been a dark year for France. From the peaceful solitude of the River of May, that voyager returned to a land reeking with slaughter. But the carnival of bigotry and hate had found a pause. . . . The king and the queen-mother, helpless amid the storm of factions which threatened their destruction, smiled now on Condé, now on Guise,—gave ear to the Cardinal of Lorraine, or listened in secret to the emissaries of Theodore Beza. Coligny was again strong at

Court. He used his opportunity, and solicited with success the means of renewing his enterprise of colonization.

Men were mustered for the work. In name, at least, they were all Huguenots; yet now, as before, the staple of the projected colony was unsound,—soldiers, paid out of the royal treasury, hired artisans and tradesmen, with a swarm of volunteers from the young Huguenot nobles, whose restless swords had rusted in their scabbards since the peace. The foundation-stone was forgotten. There were no tillers of the soil. Such, indeed, were rare among the Huguenots; for the dull peasants who guided the plow clung with blind tenacity to the ancient faith. Adventurous gentlemen, reckless soldiers, discontented tradesmen, all keen for novelty and heated with dreams of wealth,—these were they who would build for their country and their religion an empire beyond the sea.

On Thursday, the twenty-second of June, Laudonnière saw the low coast-line of Florida, and entered the harbor of St. Augustine, which he named the River of Dolphins, "because that at mine arrival I saw there a great number of Dolphins which were playing in the mouth thereof." Then he bore northward, following the coast till, on the twenty-fifth, he reached the mouth of the St. John's or River of May. The vessels anchored, the boats were lowered, and he landed with his principal followers on the south shore, near the present village of Mayport. . . .

Man and nature alike seemed to mark the borders of the River of May as the site of the new colony; for here, around the Indian towns, the harvest of maize, beans, and pumpkins promised abundant food, while the river opened a ready way to the mines of gold and silver and the stores of barbaric wealth which glittered before the dreaming vision of the colonists. Yet, the better to satisfy himself and his men, Laudonnière weighed anchor, and sailed for a time along the neighboring coasts. Returning, confirmed in his first impression, he set out with a party of officers and soldiers to explore the borders of the chosen stream. The day was hot. The sun beat fiercely on the woolen caps and heavy doublets of the men, till at length they gained the shade of one of those deep forests of pine where the dead, hot air is thick with resinous odors, and the earth, carpeted with fallen leaves, gives no sound beneath the foot. Yet, in the stillness, deer leaped up on all sides as they moved along. Then they emerged into sunlight. A meadow was before them, a running brook, and a wall of encircling forests. The men called it the Vale of Laudonnière. The afternoon was spent, and the sun was near its setting, when they reached the bank of the river. They strewed the ground with boughs and leaves, and, stretched on that sylvan couch, slept the sleep of travel-worn and weary men.

They were roused at daybreak by sound of trumpet, and after singing a psalm they set themselves to their task. It was the building of a fort, and the spot they

chose was a furlong or more above St. John's Bluff, where close to the water was a wide, flat knoll, raised a few feet above the marsh and the river. Boats came up the stream with laborers, tents, provisions, cannon, and tools. The engineers marked out the work in the form of a triangle; and, from the noble volunteer to the meanest artisan, all lent a hand to complete it. On the river side the defenses were a palisade of timber. On the two other sides were a ditch, and a rampart of fascines, earth, and sods. . . . In honor of Charles the Ninth the fort was named Fort Caroline. . . .

IN the little world of Fort Caroline, a miniature France, cliques and parties, conspiracy and sedition, were fast stirring into life. Hopes had been dashed, and wild expectations had come to naught. The adventurers had found, not conquest and gold, but a dull exile in a petty fort by a hot and sickly river, with hard labor, bad fare, prospective famine, and nothing to break the weary sameness but some passing canoe or floating alligator. Gathered in knots, they nursed each other's wrath, and inveighed against the commandant. . . .

The growing discontent was brought to a partial head by one La Roquette, who gave out that, high up the river, he had discovered by magic a mine of gold and silver, which would give each of them a share of ten thousand crowns, besides fifteen hundred

thousand for the King. But for Laudonnière, he said, their fortunes would all be made. . . .

Two of the ships meanwhile returned to France,—the third, the “Breton,” remaining at anchor opposite the fort. The malcontents took the opportunity to send home charges against Laudonnière of speculation, favoritism, and tyranny.

On the fourth of September, Captain Bourdet, apparently a private adventurer, had arrived from France with a small vessel. When he returned, about the tenth of November, Laudonnière persuaded him to carry home seven or eight of the malcontent soldiers. Bourdet left some of his sailors in their place. The exchange proved most disastrous. These pirates joined with others whom they had won over, stole Laudonnière’s two pinnaces, and set forth on a plundering excursion to the West Indies. They took a small Spanish vessel off the coast of Cuba, but were soon compelled by famine to put into Havana and give themselves up. Here, to make their peace with the authorities, they told all they knew of the position and purposes of their countrymen at Fort Caroline, and thus was forged the thunderbolt soon to be hurled against the wretched little colony. . . .

A severe illness again seized Laudonnière, and confined him to his bed. Improving their advantage, the malcontents gained over nearly all the best soldiers in the fort. The ringleader was one Fourneaux, a man of good birth, but whom Le Moyne calls an avaricious hypocrite. He drew up a paper, to which

sixty-six names were signed. . . . It was late in the night. Fourneaux, with twenty men armed to the teeth, knocked fiercely at the commandant's door. Forcing an entrance, they wounded a gentleman who opposed them, and crowded around the sick man's bed. Fourneaux, armed with steel cap and cuirass, held his arquebuse to Laudonnière's throat, and demanded leave to go on a cruise among the Spanish islands. The latter kept his presence of mind, and remonstrated with some firmness; on which, with oaths and menaces, they dragged him from his bed, put him in fetters, carried him out to the gate of the fort, placed him in a boat, and rowed him to the ship anchored in the river. . . .

Fourneaux drew up a commission for his meditated West India cruise, which he required Laudonnière to sign. The sick commandant, imprisoned in the ship with one attendant, at first refused; but receiving a message from the mutineers, that, if he did not comply, they would come on board and cut his throat, he at length yielded.

The buccaneers now bestirred themselves to finish the two small vessels on which the carpenters had been for some time at work. In a fortnight they were ready for sea, armed and provided with the King's cannon, munitions, and stores. Trenchant, an excellent pilot, was forced to join the party. . . .

The colony was wofully depleted; but the bad blood had been drawn off, and thenceforth all internal danger was at an end. In finishing the fort, in build-

ing two new vessels to replace those of which they had been robbed, and in various intercourse with the tribes far and near, the weeks passed until the twenty-fifth of March, when an Indian came in with the tidings that a vessel was hovering off the coast. Laudonnière sent to reconnoiter. The stranger lay anchored at the mouth of the river. She was a Spanish brigantine, manned by the returning mutineers, starving, downcast, and anxious to make terms. Yet, as their posture seemed not wholly pacific, Laudonnière sent down La Caille, with thirty soldiers concealed at the bottom of his little vessel. Seeing only two or three on deck, the pirates allowed her to come alongside; when, to their amazement, they were boarded and taken before they could snatch their arms. Discomfited, woebegone, and drunk, they were landed under a guard. . . .

A court-martial was called near Fort Caroline, and all were found guilty. Fourneaux and three others were sentenced to be hanged.

"Comrades," said one of the condemned, appealing to the soldiers, "will you stand by and see us butchered?"

"These," retorted Laudonnière, "are no comrades of mutineers and rebels."

At the request of his followers, however, he commuted the sentence to shooting. . . .

AND now, in ample measure, the French began to reap the harvest of their folly. Conquest, gold, and military occupation had alone been their aims. Not a rood of ground had been stirred with the spade. Their stores were consumed, and the expected supplies had not come. The Indians, too, were hostile. Satouriona hated them as allies of his enemies; and his tribesmen, robbed and maltreated by the lawless soldiers, exulted in their miseries. Yet in these, their dark and subtle neighbors, was their only hope.

May-day came, the third anniversary of the day when Ribaut and his companions, full of delighted anticipation, had first explored the flowery borders of the St. John's. The contrast was deplorable; for within the precinct of Fort Caroline a homesick, squalid band, dejected and worn, dragged their shrunken limbs about the sun-scorched area, or lay stretched in listless wretchedness under the shade of the barracks. Some were digging roots in the forest, or gathering a kind of sorrel upon the meadows. If they had had any skill in hunting and fishing, the river and the woods would have supplied their needs; but in this point, as in others, they were lamentably unfit for the work they had taken in hand. "Our misery," says Laudonnière, "was so great that one was found that gathered up all the fish-bones that he could find, which he dried and beat into powder to make bread thereof. The effects of this hideous famine appeared incontinently among us, for our bones eftsoones began to cleave so near unto the

skin, that the most part of the soldiers had their skins pierced through with them in many parts of their bodies." Yet, giddy with weakness, they dragged themselves in turn to the top of St. John's Bluff, straining their eyes across the sea to descry the anxiously expected sail.

Had Coligny left them to perish? or had some new tempest of calamity, let loose upon France, drowned the memory of their exile? In vain the watchman on the hill surveyed the solitude of waters. A deep dejection fell upon them.

The Indians had left the neighborhood, but from time to time brought in meager supplies of fish, which they sold to the famished soldiers at exorbitant prices. Lest they should pay the penalty of their extortion, they would not enter the fort, but lay in their canoes in the river, beyond gunshot, waiting for their customers to come out to them. "Oftentimes," says Laudonnière, "our poor soldiers were constrained to give away the very shirts from their backs to get one fish. . . ."

Famine and desperation now reigned at Fort Caroline. The Indians had killed two of the carpenters; hence long delay in the finishing of the new ship. They would not wait, but resolved to put to sea in the Breton and the brigantine. The problem was to find food for the voyage; for now, in their extremity, they roasted and ate snakes, a delicacy in which the neighborhood abounded.

On the third of August, Laudonnière, perturbed and oppressed, was walking on the hill, when, looking seaward, he saw a sight that sent a thrill through his exhausted frame. A great ship was standing towards the river's mouth. Then another came in sight, and another, and another. He despatched a messenger with the tidings to the fort below. The languid forms of his sick and despairing men rose and danced for joy, and voices shrill with weakness joined in wild laughter and acclamation, in so much, he says, "that one would have thought them to be out of their wits."

A doubt soon mingled with their joy. Who were the strangers? Were they the friends so long hoped for in vain? or were they Spaniards, their dreaded enemies? They were neither. The foremost ship was a stately one, of seven hundred tons, a great burden at that day. She was named the *Jesus*; and with her were three smaller vessels, the *Solomon*, the *Tiger*, and the *Swallow*. Their commander was "a right worshipful and valiant knight,"—for so the record styles him,—a pious man and a prudent, to judge him by the orders he gave his crew when, ten months before, he sailed out of Plymouth: "Serve God daily, love one another, preserve your victuals, beware of fire, and keep good company." Nor were the crew unworthy the graces of their chief; for the devout chronicler of the voyage ascribes their deliverance from the perils of the sea to "the Almighty God, who never suffereth his Elect to perish."

Who then were they, this chosen band, serenely conscious of a special Providential care? They were the pioneers of that detested traffic destined to inoculate with its infection nations yet unborn, the parent of discord and death, filling half a continent with the tramp of armies and the clash of fratricidal swords. Their chief was Sir John Hawkins, father of the English slave-trade.

He had been to the coast of Guinea, where he bought and kidnaped a cargo of slaves. These he had sold to the jealous Spaniards of Hispaniola, forcing them, with sword, matchlock, and culverin, to grant him free trade, and then to sign testimonials that he had borne himself as become a peaceful merchant. Prospering greatly by this summary commerce, but distressed by the want of water, he had put into the River of May to obtain a supply. . . .

Hawkins came up the river in a pinnace, and landed at Fort Caroline, accompanied, says Laudonnière, "with gentlemen honorably appareled, yet unarmed." Between the Huguenots and the English Puritans there was a double tie of sympathy. Both hated priests, and both hated Spaniards. Wakening from their apathetic misery, the starveling garrison hailed him as a deliverer. Yet Hawkins secretly rejoiced when he learned their purpose to abandon Florida; for although, not to tempt his cupidity, they hid from him the secret of their Appalachian gold mine, he coveted for his royal mistress the possession of this rich domain. He shook his head, however, when he

saw the vessels in which they proposed to embark, and offered them all a free passage to France in his own ships. This, from obvious motives of honor and prudence, Laudonnière declined, upon which Hawkins offered to lend or sell to him one of his smaller vessels.

Laudonnière hesitated, and hereupon arose a great clamor. A mob of soldiers and artisans beset his chamber, threatening loudly to desert him, and take passage with Hawkins, unless the offer were accepted. The commandant accordingly resolved to buy the vessel. The generous slaver, whose reputed avarice nowhere appears in the transaction, desired him to set his own price; and, in place of money, took the cannon of the fort, with other articles now useless to their late owners. He sent them, too, a gift of wine and biscuit, and supplied them with provisions for the voyage, receiving in payment Laudonnière's note, "for which," adds the later, "until this present I am indebted to him." With a friendly leave-taking, he returned to his ships and stood out to sea, leaving golden opinions among the inmates of Fort Caroline.

Before the English top-sails had sunk beneath the horizon, the colonists bestirred themselves to depart. In a few days their preparations were made. They waited only for a fair wind. It was long in coming, and meanwhile their troubled fortunes assumed a new phase.

On the twenty-eighth of August, the two captains Vasseur and Verdier came in with tidings of an approaching squadron. Again the fort was wild with

excitement. Friends or foes, French or Spaniards, succor or death,—betwixt these were their hopes and fears divided. On the following morning, they saw seven barges rowing up the river, bristling with weapons, and crowded with men in armor. . . . Sentries on the bluff challenged, and received no answer. One of them fired at the advancing boats, and still there was no response. Laudonnière was almost defenseless. He had given his heavier cannon to Hawkins, and only two field-pieces were left. They were leveled at the foremost boats, and the word to fire was about to be given, when a voice from among the strangers called out that they were French, commanded by Jean Ribaut.

At the eleventh hour, the long looked for succors were come. Ribaut had been commissioned to sail with seven ships for Florida. A disorderly concourse of disbanded soldiers, mixed with artisans and their families, and young nobles weary of a two years' peace, were mustered at the port of Dieppe, and embarked, to the number of three hundred men, bearing with them all things thought necessary to a prosperous colony. . . .

Ribaut was present, conspicuous by his long beard, an astonishment to the Indians; and here, too, were officers, old friends of Laudonnière. Why, then, had they approached in the attitude of enemies? The mystery was soon explained; for they expressed to the commandant their pleasure at finding that the charges made against him had proved false. He

begged to know more; on which Ribaut, taking him aside, told him that the returning ships had brought home letters filled with accusations of arrogance, tyranny, cruelty, and a purpose of establishing an independent command,—accusations which he now saw to be unfounded, but which had been the occasion of his unusual and startling precaution. He gave him, too, a letter from Admiral Coligny. In brief but courteous terms, it required him to resign his command, and requested his return to France to clear his name from the imputations cast upon it. Ribaut warmly urged him to remain; but Laudonnière declined his friendly proposals.

Worn in body and mind, mortified and wounded, he soon fell ill again. . . .

Stores were landed, tents were pitched, women and children were sent on shore, feathered Indians mingled in the throng, and the borders of the River of May swarmed with busy life. “But, lo, how oftentimes misfortune doth search and pursue us, even then when we think to be at rest!” exclaims the unhappy Laudonnière. Amidst the light and cheer of renovated hope, a cloud of blackest omen was gathering in the east.

At half-past eleven on the night of Tuesday, September fourth, the crew of Ribaut’s flag-ship anchored on the still sea outside the bar, saw a huge hulk, grim with the throats of cannon, drifting towards them through the gloom; and from its stern rolled on the sluggish air the portentous banner of Spain.

THE FOUNDING OF ST. AUGUSTINE

By Francisco Lopez de Mendoza Grajalas

FATHER MENDOZA, who was chaplain of the expedition to the coast of Florida commanded by "the illustrious Captain-General Pedro Menendez de Aviles" in 1565, writes of events from first hand knowledge, when he describes the settlement of the oldest town in the United States—St. Augustine.

Pedro Menendez also told this story in despatches to King Philip II, still preserved in the Royal Archives. But his chaplain's account is the only eye-witness narrative of the founding of St. Augustine available in English.

The destruction of the French Huguenot Colony, described in the portion of Mendoza's narrative given here, aroused so little interest on the part of the French Government authorities that they made no effort to avenge it. Had the Huguenot Colony been supported and protected a French settlement might have been built up here half a century before the English began colonization in the new country.

YOUR LORDSHIP will remember that, when the fleet was in preparation in Spain, I went to see the captain-general at the harbor of St. Mary, and, as I told you, he showed me a letter from his Royal Highness Philip II., signed with his name. In this letter his Majesty told him that on May 20 some ships had left France carrying seven hundred men and two hundred women. As I have stated, we learned at St. John's of Porto Rico that our despatch-boat had been captured. This fact, joined to the reflection

that our fleet was much injured by the storm, and that of the ten vessels which left Cadiz only four remained, besides the one bought at the last port to transport the horses and troops—all this made it evident to our

captain-general, a man of arms, that the French would likely be waiting for him near the harbors, a little farther on; that is, off Monte Christi, Havana, and the Cape of Las Canas, which lie on the same side, and precisely on our route to Florida. This was all the more to be expected since the French had come in possession of our plan to unite our forces at Havana. Not wishing, however, to encounter the French, having now lost our ships, and having but feeble means of defense, the general decided to take a northerly course, and pursue a new route, through the Bahama Channel, leaving the enemy to the windward. When I suggested this route to the admiral and the pilot, they said it was important and necessary to abandon the usual route, by way of Havana.

Following this dangerous navigation, the Lord permitted the admiral to arrive safely in port on Sunday, the 20th of August. We saw two islands, called the Bahama Islands. The shoals which lie between them are so extensive that the billows are felt far out at sea. The general gave orders to take soundings. The ship purchased at Porto Rico got aground that day in two and a half fathoms of water. At first, we feared she might stay there; but she soon got off and came to us. Our galley, one of the best ships afloat, found herself all day in the same position, when suddenly her keel struck three times violently against the bottom. The sailors gave themselves up for lost, and the water commenced to pour into her hold. But, as we had a mission to fulfill for Jesus Christ and His

blessed mother, two heavy waves, which struck her abaft, set her afloat again, and soon after we found her in deep water, and at midnight we entered the Bahama Channel.

ON Saturday, the 25th, the captain-general (Menendez) came to visit our vessel and get the ordnance for disembarkment at Florida. This ordnance consisted of two rampart pieces, of two sorts of culverins, of very small caliber, powder and balls; and he also took two soldiers to take care of the pieces. Having armed his vessel, he stopped and made us an address, in which he instructed us what we had to do on arrival at the place where the French were anchored. I will not dwell on this subject, on which there was a good deal said for and against, although the opinion of the general finally prevailed. There were two thousand (hundred) Frenchmen in the seaport into which we were to force an entrance. I made some opposition to the plans, and begged the general to consider that he had the care of a thousand souls, for which he must give a good account. . . .

On Tuesday, the 4th, the fleet left the place of which I have been speaking, and we took a northerly course, keeping all the time close to the coast. On Wednesday, the 5th, two hours before sunset, we saw four French ships at the mouth of a river. When we were two leagues from them, the first galley joined the rest of the fleet, which was composed of four other vessels. The general concerted a plan with the cap-



SAINT AUGUSTINE AND FORT SAN JUAN DE PIÑOS (*From an ancient print*)

tains and pilots, and ordered the flagship, the San Pelayo, and a chaloupe to attack the French flagship, the Trinity, while the first galley and another chaloupe would attack the French galley, both of which vessels were very large and powerful. All the ships of our fleet put themselves in good position; the troops were in the best of spirits, and full of confidence in the great talents of the captain-general. They followed the galley; but, as our general is a very clever and artful officer, he did not fire, nor seek to make any attack on the enemy. He went straight to the French galley, and cast anchor about eight paces from her. The other vessels went to the windward, and very near the enemy. During the maneuvers, which lasted until about two hours after sunset, not a word was said on either side. Never in my life have I known such stillness. Our general inquired of the French galley, which was the vessel nearest his.

"Whence does this fleet come?"

They answered, "From France."

"What are you doing here?" said the Adelantado. "This is the territory of King Philip II. I order you to leave directly; for I neither know who you are nor what you want here."

The French commander then replied, "I am bringing soldiers and supplies to the fort of the King of France."

He then asked the name of the general of our fleet, and was told, "Pedro Menendez de Aviles, Captain-

general of the King of Spain, who have come to hang all Lutherans I find here."

Our general then asked him the name of his commander, and he replied, "Lord Gasto."

While this parleying was going on, a long-boat was sent from the galley to the flagship. The person charged with this errand managed to do it so secretly that we could not hear what was said; but we understood the reply of the French to be, "I am the admiral," which made us think he wished to surrender, as they were in so small a force.

Scarcely had the French made this reply, when they slipped their cables, spread their sails, and passed through our midst. Our admiral, seeing this, followed the French commander, and called upon him to lower his sails, in the name of King Philip, to which he received an impertinent answer. Immediately our admiral gave an order to discharge a small culverin, the ball from which struck the vessel amidships, and I thought she was going to founder. We gave chase, and some time after he again called on them to lower their sails.

"I would sooner die first than surrender!" replied the French commander.

The order was given to fire a second shot, which carried off five or six men; but, as these miserable devils are very good sailors, they maneuvered so well that we could not take one of them; and, notwithstanding all the guns we fired at them, we did not sink one of their ships. We only got possession

of one of their large boats, which was of great service to us afterwards. During the whole night our flagship (the *San Pelayo*) and the galley chased the French flagship (*Trinity*) and galley. . . .

The next morning, being fully persuaded that the storm had made a wreck of our galley, or that, at least, she had been driven a hundred leagues out to sea, we decided that so soon as daylight came we would weigh anchor, and withdraw in good order, to a river (*Seloy*) which was below the French colony, and there disembark, and construct a fort, which we would defend until assistance came to us. . . .

OUR fort is at a distance of about fifteen leagues from that of the enemy (*Fort Caroline*). The energy and talents of those two brave captains, joined to the efforts of their brave soldiers, who had no tools with which to work the earth, accomplished the construction of this fortress of defense; and, when the general disembarked, he was quite surprised with what had been done.

On Saturday, the 8th, the general landed with many banners spread, to the sound of trumpets and salutes of artillery. As I had gone ashore the evening before, I took a cross and went to meet him, singing the hymn *Te Deum laudamus*. The general marched up to the cross, followed by all who accompanied him, and there they all kneeled and embraced the cross. A large number of Indians watched these proceedings and imitated all they saw done. The

same day the general took formal possession of the country in the name of his Majesty, and all the captains took the oath of allegiance to him, as their general and governor of the country. . . .

Our general was very bold in all military matters, and a great enemy of the French. He immediately assembled his captains and planned an expedition to attack the French settlement and fort on the river with five hundred men; and, in spite of the opinion of a majority of them, and of my judgment and of another priest, he ordered his plan to be carried out. Accordingly, on Monday, September 17, he set out with five hundred men, well provided with fire-arms and pikes, each soldier carrying with him a sack of bread and supply of wine for the journey. They also took with them two Indian chiefs, who were the implacable enemies of the French, to serve as guides. . . .

They marched the whole distance until Tuesday evening, the 18th of September, 1565, when they arrived within a quarter of a league of the enemy's fort (Caroline), where they remained all night up to their waists in water. When daylight came, Captains Lopez, Patino, and Martin Ochoa had already been to examine the fort, but, when they went to attack the fort, a greater part of the soldiers were so confused they scarcely knew what they were about.

On Thursday morning our good captain-general, accompanied by his son-in-law, Don Pedro de Valdes and Captain Patino, went to inspect the fort. He showed so much vivacity that he did not seem to have

suffered by any of the hardships to which he had been exposed, and, seeing him march off so brisk, the others took courage, and without exception followed his example. It appears the enemy did not perceive their approach until the very moment of the attack, as it was very early in the morning and had rained in torrents. The greater part of the soldiers of the fort were still in bed. Some arose in their shirts, and others, quite naked, begged for quarter; but, in spite of that, more than one hundred and forty were killed.

A great Lutheran cosmographer and magician was found among the dead. The rest, numbering about three hundred, scaled the walls, and either took refuge in the forest or on their ships floating in the river, laden with treasures, so that in an hour's time the fort was in our possession, without our having lost a single man, or even had one wounded.

The taking of this fort gained us many valuable objects, namely, two hundred pikes, a hundred and twenty helmets, a quantity of arquebuses and shields, a quantity of clothing, linen, fine cloths, two hundred tons of flour, a good many barrels of biscuit, two hundred bushels of wheat, three horses, four asses, and two she-asses, hogs, tallow, books, furnace, flour-mill, and many other things of little value. But the greatest advantage of this victory is certainly the triumph which our Lord has granted us, and which will be the means of the Holy Gospel being introduced into this country, a thing necessary to prevent the loss of many souls. . . .

When we had reached the sea, we went about three leagues along the coast in search of our comrades. It was about ten o'clock at night when we met them, and there was a mutual rejoicing at having found each other. Not far off we saw the camp fires of our enemies, and our general ordered two of our soldiers to go and reconnoiter them, concealing themselves in the bushes, and to observe well the ground where they were encamped, so as to know what could be done. About two o'clock the men returned, saying that the enemy was on the other side of the river, and that we could not get at them. Immediately the general ordered two soldiers and four sailors to return to where we had left the boats, and bring them down the river, so that we might pass over to where the enemy was. Then he marched his troops forward to the river and . . . we saw a great many of the enemy go down to the river to get shell-fish for food.

Our general, who was observing all that, enlightened by the Holy Spirit, said to us,

"I intend to change these clothes for those of a sailor, and take a Frenchman with me (one of those whom we had brought with us from Spain), and we will go and talk with these Frenchmen. Perhaps they are without supplies, and would be glad to surrender without fighting."

He had scarcely finished speaking before he put his plan into execution. As soon as he had called to them, one of them swam towards and spoke to him; told him of their having been shipwrecked, and

the distress they were in; that they had not eaten bread for eight or ten days; and, what is more, stated that all, or at least the greater part of them, were Lutherans. Immediately the general sent him back to his countrymen, to say they must surrender, and give up their arms, or he would put them all to death. A French gentleman, who was a sergeant, brought back the reply that they would surrender on condition their lives should be spared.

After having parleyed a long time, our brave captain-general answered "that he would make no promises, that they must surrender unconditionally, and lay down their arms, because, if he spared their lives, he wanted them to be grateful for it, and, if they were put to death, that there should be no cause for complaint." Seeing that there was nothing else left for them to do, the sergeant returned to the camp; and soon after he brought all their arms and flags, and gave them up to the general, and surrendered unconditionally. Finding they were all Lutherans, the captain-general ordered them all to be put to death; but, as I was a priest, and had bowels of mercy, I begged him to grant me the favor of sparing those whom we might find to be Christians. He granted it; and I made investigations, and found ten or twelve of the men Roman Catholics, whom we brought back. All the others were executed, because they were Lutherans and enemies of our Holy Catholic faith. All this took place on Saturday (St. Michael's Day), September 29, 1565. . . .

DOMINIQUE DE GOURGUES

By Francis Parkman

THE history of chivalrous France "may be searched in vain," in the words of Parkman, "for a deed of more romantic daring than the vengeance of Dominique de Gourgues."

After Menendez had butchered the French Huguenots in Florida, the relatives of these slain colonists petitioned their King for redress, "but had the honor of the nation rested in the keeping of its King, the blood of these hundreds of murdered Frenchmen would have cried from the ground in vain. But it was not to be so. Injured humanity found an avenger, and outraged France a champion, in Dominique de Gourgues."

THERE was a gentleman of Mont-de-Marsan, Dominique de Gourgues, a soldier of ancient birth and high renown. It is not certain that he was a Huguenot. The Spanish annalist calls him a "terrible heretic"; but the French Jesuit, Charlevoix, anxious that the faithful should share the glory of his exploits, affirms that, like his ancestors before him, he

was a good Catholic. If so, his faith sat lightly upon him; and, Catholic or heretic, he hated the Spaniards with a mortal hate. Fighting in the Italian wars,—for from boyhood he was wedded to the sword,—he had been taken prisoner by them near Siena, where he had signalized himself by a fiery and determined bravery. With brutal insult, they chained him to the oar as a galley slave. After he had long endured this ignominy, the Turks captured the vessel and carried her to Constantinople. It was but a change of tyrants; but, soon after, while she was on a cruise, Gourgues

still at the oar, a galley of the knights of Malta hove in sight, bore down on her, recaptured her, and set the prisoner free. For several years after, his restless spirit found employment in voyages to Africa, Brazil, and regions yet more remote. His naval repute rose high, but his grudge against the Spaniards still rankled within him; and when, returned from his roving, he learned the tidings from Florida, his hot Gascon blood boiled with fury.

The honor of France had been foully stained, and there was none to wipe away the shame. The faction-ridden King was dumb. The nobles who surrounded him were in the Spanish interest. Then, since they proved recreant, he, Dominique de Gourgues, a simple gentleman, would take upon him to avenge the wrong, and restore the dimmed luster of the French name. He sold his inheritance, borrowed money from his brother, who held a high post in Guienne, and equipped three small vessels, navigable by sail or oar. On board he placed a hundred arquebusiers and eighty sailors, prepared to fight on land, if need were. The noted Blaise de Montluc, then lieutenant for the King in Guienne, gave him a commission to make war on the negroes of Benin,—that is, to kidnap them as slaves, an adventure then held honorable.

His true design was locked within his own breast. He mustered his followers,—not a few of whom were of rank equal to his own,—feasted them, and, on the twenty-second of August, 1567, sailed from the

mouth of the Charente. Off Cape Finisterre, so violent a storm buffeted his ships that his men clamored to return; but Gourgues's spirit prevailed. He bore away for Africa, and, landing at the Rio del Oro, refreshed and cheered them as he best might. Thence he sailed to Cape Blanco, where the jealous Portuguese, who had a fort in the neighborhood, set upon him three negro chiefs. Gourgues beat them off, and remained master of the harbor; whence, however, he soon voyaged onward to Cape Verde, and, steering westward, made for the West Indies. Here, advancing from island to island, he came to Hispaniola, where, between the fury of a hurricane at sea and the jealousy of the Spaniards on shore, he was in no small jeopardy,—“the Spaniards,” exclaims the indignant journalist, “who think that this New World was made for nobody but them, and that no other living man has a right to move or breathe here!” Gourgues landed, however, obtained the water of which he was in need, and steered for Cape San Antonio, at the western end of Cuba. There he gathered his followers about him, and addressed them with his fiery Gascon eloquence. For the first time, he told them his true purpose, inveighed against Spanish cruelty, and painted, with angry rhetoric, the butcheries of Fort Caroline and St. Augustine. . . .

They kept their course all night, and, as day broke, anchored at the mouth of a river, the St. Mary's, or the Santilla, by their reckoning fifteen leagues north of the River of May. Here, as it grew light, Gour-

gues saw the borders of the sea thronged with savages, armed and plumed for war. They, too, had mistaken the strangers for Spaniards, and mustered to meet their tyrants at the landing. But in the French ships there was a trumpeter who had been long in Florida, and knew the Indians well. He went towards them in a boat, with many gestures of friendship; and no sooner was he recognized, than the naked crowd, with yelps of delight, danced for joy along the sands. Why had he ever left them? they asked; and why had he not returned before? The intercourse thus auspiciously begun was actively kept up. . . .

Morning came, and the woods were thronged with warriors. Gourgues and his soldiers landed with martial pomp. . . .

He thanked the Indians for their good-will, exhorted them to continue in it, and pronounced an ill-merited eulogy on the greatness and goodness of his King. As for the Spaniards, he said, their day of reckoning was at hand; and, if the Indians had been abused for their love of the French, the French would be their avengers. Here Satouriona forgot his dignity, and leaped up for joy.

"What!" he cried, "will you fight the Spaniards?"

"I came here," replied Gourgues, "only to reconnoiter the country and make friends with you, and then go back to bring more soldiers; but, when I hear what you are suffering from them, I wish to fall upon them this very day, and rescue you from their

tyranny." All around the ring a clamor of applauding voices greeted his words. . . .

"But you will do your part," pursued the Frenchman; "you will not leave us all the honor."

"We will go," replied Satouriona, "and die with you, if need be."

"Then, if we fight, we ought to fight at once. How soon can you have your warriors ready to march?"

The chief asked three days for preparation. . . .

The day appointed came, and with it the savage army, hideous in war-paint, and plumed for battle. . . .

The French forgot their weariness, and pressed on with speed. At dawn they and their allies met on the bank of a stream, probably Sister Creek, beyond which, and very near, was the fort. But the tide was in, and they tried in vain to cross. Greatly vexed,—for he had hoped to take the enemy asleep,—Gourgues withdrew his soldiers into the forest, where they were no sooner ensconced than a drenching rain fell, and they had much ado to keep their gun-matches burning. The light grew fast. Gourgues plainly saw the fort, the defenses of which seemed slight and unfinished. He even saw the Spaniards at work within. A feverish interval elapsed, till at length the tide was out,—so far, at least that the stream was fordable. A little higher up, a clump of trees lay between it and the fort. Behind this friendly screen the passage was begun. Each man tied his powder-flask to his steel cap, held his arquebuse above his head with one hand, and grasped his sword with the other. The channel

was a bed of oysters. The sharp shells cut their feet as they waded through. But the farther bank was gained. They emerged from the water, drenched, lacerated, and bleeding, but with unabated mettle. Gourgues set them in array under cover of the trees. They stood with kindling eyes, and hearts throbbing, but not with fear. Gourgues pointed to the Spanish fort, seen by glimpses through the boughs. "Look!" he said, "there are the robbers who have stolen this land from our King; there are the murderers who have butchered our countrymen!" . . . In a moment, the fugitives, sixty in all, were enclosed between his party and that of his lieutenant. The Indians, too, came leaping to the spot. Not a Spaniard escaped. All were cut down but a few, reserved by Gourgues for a more inglorious end. . . .

But Gourgues's vengeance was not yet appeased. Hard by the fort, the trees were pointed out to him on which Menendez had hanged his captives, and placed over them the inscription, "Not as to Frenchmen, but as to Lutherans."

Gourgues ordered the prisoners to be led thither.

"Did you think," he sternly said, as the pallid wretches stood ranged before him, "that so vile a treachery, so detestable a cruelty, against a King so potent and a nation so generous, would go unpunished? I, one of the humblest gentlemen among my King's subjects, have charged myself with avenging it. Even if the Most Christian and the Most Catholic Kings had been enemies, at deadly war, such perfidy

and extreme cruelty would still have been unpardonable. Now that they are friends and close allies, there is no name vile enough to brand your deeds, no punishment sharp enough to requite them. But though you cannot suffer as you deserve, you shall suffer all that an enemy can honorably inflict, that your example may teach others to observe peace and alliance which you have so perfidiously violated."

They were hanged where the French had hung before them; and over them was nailed the inscription, burned with a hot iron on a tablet of pine, "Not as to Spaniards, but as to Traitors, Robbers and Murderers." . . .

Thus Spaniards and Frenchmen alike laid their reeking swords on God's altar.

Gourgues sailed on the third of May, and gazing back along their foaming wake, the adventurers looked their last on the scene of their exploits. Their success had cost its price. A few of their number had fallen, and hardships still awaited the survivors. Gourgues, however, reached Rochelle on the day of Pentecost, and the Huguenot citizens greeted him with all honor. At court it fared worse with him. The King, still obsequious to Spain, looked on him coldly and askance. The Spanish minister demanded his head. It was hinted to him that he was not safe, and he withdrew to Rouen, where he found asylum among his friends. His fortune was gone; debts contracted for his expedition weighed heavily on him; and for years he lived in obscurity. . . .

THE FIRST VOYAGE TO ROANOKE

THE new charter, which Raleigh obtained in 1584 for his colonization of America, gave "all the privileges of free denizens and persons native of England." It was this provision in Raleigh's charter which formed the basis for the resistance to England that led to the Revolution. So in large measure we are indebted to Raleigh for American Independence.

While still a youth Raleigh had become interested in American colonization, and commanded one of the seven ships in the fleet of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, his half-brother, when only 26 years of age. Five years later he furnished one of the five ships in Sir Humphrey's disastrous voyage, and would have sailed on this expedition, but was prevented by the order of the Queen, who was unwilling that her favorite should incur the risk of "dangerous sea fights."

This account of The First Voyage to Roanoke is taken from the written report made by Captains Amadas and Barlowe to Sir Walter.

that the land could not be far distant: and keeping good watch, and bearing but slack sail, the fourth of the same month we arrived upon the coast, which we supposed to be a continent and firm land, and we

THE 27 day of April, in the year of our redemption, 1584 we departed the West of England, with two barks well furnished with men and victuals, having received our last and perfect directions by your letters, confirming the former instructions and commandments delivered by yourself at our leaving the river of Thames.

The second of July we found shoal water, where we smelled so sweet, and so strong a smell, as if we had been in the midst of some delicate garden abounding with all kind of odoriferous flowers, by which we were assured,

sailed along the same a hundred and twenty English miles before we could find any entrance, or river issuing into the Sea. The first that appeared unto us, we entered, though not without some difficulty, and cast anchor about three harquebuz-shot within the haven's mouth on the left hand of the same: and after thanks given to God for our safe arrival thither, we manned our boats, and went to view the land next adjoining, and to take possession of the same, in the right of the Queen's most excellent Majesty, and rightful Queen, and Princess of the same, and after delivered the same over to your use, according to her Majesty's grant, and letters patents, under her Highness' great seal. Which being performed, according to the ceremonies used in such enterprises, we viewed the land about us, being, whereas we first landed, very sandy and low towards the water's side, but so full of grapes, as the very beating and surge of the Sea overflowed them, of which we found such plenty, as well there as in all places else, both on the sand and on the green soil on the hills, as in the plains, as well on every little shrub, as also climbing towards the tops of high cedars, that I think in all the world the like abundance is not to be found: and myself having seen those parts of Europe that most abound, find such difference as were incredible to be written.

We passed from the Sea side towards the tops of those hills next adjoining, being but of mean height, and from thence we beheld the Sea on both sides to the north, and to the south, finding no end any of

both ways. This land lay stretching itself to the west, which after we found to be but an island of twenty miles long, and not above six miles broad. Under the bank or hill whereon we stood, we beheld the valleys replenished with goodly cedar trees, and having discharged our harquebuz-shot, such a flock of cranes (the most part white), arose under us, with such a cry redoubled by many echoes, as if an army of men had shouted all together.

We remained by the side of this island two whole days before we saw any people of the country: the third day we espied one small boat rowing towards us having in it three persons: this boat came to the island side, four harquebuz-shot from our ships, and there two of the people remaining, the third came along the shoreside towards us, and we being then all within board, he walked up and down upon the point of the land next unto us: then the master and the pilot of the admiral, Simon Ferdinando, and the Captain Philip Amadas, myself, and others rowed to the land, whose coming this fellow attended, never making any show of fear or doubt. And after he had spoken of many things not understood by us, we brought him with his own good liking, aboard the ships, and gave him a shirt, a hat and some other things, and made him taste of our wine, and our meat, which he liked very well; and after having viewed both barks, he departed, and went to his own boat again, which he had left in a little cove or creek adjoining: as soon as he was two bow shot into the

water, he fell to fishing, and in less than half an hour, he had laden his boat as deep as it could swim, with which he came again to the point of the land, and there he divided his fish into two parts, pointing one part to the ship, and the other to the pinnace: which, after he had, as much as he might, requited the former benefits received, departed out of our sight.

The next day there came unto us divers boats, and in one of them the King's brother, accompanied with forty or fifty men, very handsome and goodly people, and in their behavior as mannerly and civil as any of Europe. His name was Granganimeo, and the king is called Wingina, the country Wingandacoa, and now by her Majesty Virginia. The manner of his coming was in this sort: he left his boats altogether as the first man did a little from the ships by the shore, and came along to the place over against the ships, followed with forty men. When he came to the place, his servants spread a long mat upon the ground, on which he sat down, and at the other end of the mat four others of his company did the like, the rest of his men stood round about him, somewhat far off: when we came to the shore to him with our weapons, he never moved from his place, nor any of the other four, nor never mistrusted any harm to be offered from us, but sitting still he beckoned us to come and sit by him, which we performed: and being set he made all signs of joy and welcome, striking on his head and his breast and afterwards on ours to show we were all one, smiling and making show the best

he could of all love, and familiarity. After he had made a long speech unto us, we presented him with divers things, which he received very joyfully, and thankfully. None of the company durst speak one word all the time: only the four which were at the other end, spoke one in the other's ear very softly.

The King is greatly obeyed, and his brothers and children revered: the King himself in person was at our being there, sore wounded in a fight which he had with the King of the next country, called Wingina. . . . A day or two after this, we fell to trading with them, exchanging some things that we had, for chamois, buffalo and deer skins: when we showed him all our packet of merchandise, of all things that he saw, a bright tin dish most pleased him, which he presently took up and clapt it before his breast, and after made a hole in the brim thereof and hung it about his neck, making signs that it would defend him against his enemy's arrows: for those people maintain a deadly and terrible war, with the people and King adjoining. We exchanged our tin dish for twenty skins, worth twenty crowns, or twenty nobles: and a copper kettle for fifty skins worth fifty crowns. They offered us good exchange for our hatchets, and axes, and for knives, and would have given anything for swords: but we would not depart with any.

After two or three days the King's brother came aboard the ships, and drank wine, and ate of our meat and of our bread, and liked exceedingly thereof: and after a few days overpassed, he brought his wife with

him to the ships, his daughter and two or three children: his wife was very well favored, of mean stature, and very bashful: she had on her back a long cloak of leather, with the fur side next to her body, and before her a piece of the same: about her forehead she had a band of white coral, and so had her husband many times: in her ears she had bracelets of pearls hanging down to her middle, whereof we delivered your worship a little bracelet, and those were of the bigness of good peas. The rest of her women of the better sort had pendants of copper hanging in either ear, and some of the children of the King's brother and other noble men, have five or six in either ear: he himself had upon his head a broad plate of gold, or copper, for being unpolished we knew not what metal it should be, neither would he by any means suffer us to take it off his head, but feeling it, it would bow very easily. His apparel was as his wives, only the women wear their hair long on both sides, and the men but on one. They are of color yellowish, and their hair black for the most part, and yet we saw children that had very fine auburn and chestnut colored hair.

After that these women had been there, there came down from all parts great store of people, bringing with them leather, coral, divers kinds of dyes, very excellent, and exchanged with us: but when Granganimeo the king's brother was present, none durst trade but himself: except such as wear red pieces of copper on their heads like himself: for that is the

difference between the noble men, and the governors of countries, and the meaner sort. And we both noted there, and you have understood since by these men, which we brought home, that no people in the world carry more respect to their King, nobility, and governors, than these do. The King's brother's wife, when she came to us, as she did many times, was followed with forty or fifty women always: and when she came into the ship, she left them all on land, saving her two daughters, her nurse and one or two more. The King's brother always kept this order, as many boats as he would come withal to the ships, so many fires would he make on the shore afar off, to the end we might understand with what strength and company he approached.

Their boats are made of one tree, either of pine or of pitch trees: a wood not commonly known to our people, nor found growing in England. They have no edge-tools to make them withal: if they have any they are very few, and those it seems they had twenty years since, which, as those two men declared, was out of a wreck which happened upon their coast of some Christian ship, being beaten that way by some storm and outrageous weather, whereof none of the people were saved, but only the ship, or some part of her being cast upon the sand, out of whose sides they drew the nails and the spikes, and with those they made their best instruments. The manner of making their boats is thus: they burn down some great tree, or take such as are wind fallen, and putting

gum and rosin upon one side thereof, they set fire into it, and when it has burnt it hollow, they cut out the coal with their shells, and ever where they would burn it deeper or wider they lay on gums, which burn away the timber, and by this means they fashion very fine boats, and such as will transport twenty men. Their oars are like scoops, and many times they set with long poles, as the depth serves.

The King's brother had great liking of our armor, a sword, and divers other things which we had: and offered to lay a great box of pearls in gage for them: but we refused it for this time, because we would not make them known, that we esteemed thereof, until we had understood in what places of the country the pearl grew: which now your Worship does very well understand.

He was very just of his promise: for many times we delivered him merchandise upon his word, but ever he came within the day and kept his promise. . .

After they had been divers times aboard our ships, myself, with seven more went twenty miles into the river that runs toward the city of Shicoak, which river they call Occam: and the evening following we came to an island which they call Roanoak, distant from the harbor by which we entered, seven leagues: and at the north end thereof was a village of nine houses, built of cedar, and fortified round about with sharp trees, to keep out their enemies, and the entrance into it made like a turnpike very artificially; when we came towards it, standing near unto the

water's side, the wife of Granganimeo the King's brother came running out to meet us very cheerfully and friendly, her husband was not then in the village; some of her people she commanded to draw our boat on shore for the beating of the billow: others she appointed to carry us on their backs to the dry ground, and others to bring our oars into the house for fear of stealing. When we were come into the outer room, having five rooms in her house, she caused us to sit down by a great fire, and after took off our clothes and washed them, and dried them again: some of the women plucked off our stockings and washed them, some washed our feet in warm water, and she herself took great pains to see all things ordered in the best manner she could, making great haste to dress some meat for us to eat.

After we had thus dried ourselves, she brought us into the inner room, where she set on the board standing along the house, some wheat like furmenty, sodden venison, and roasted, fish sodden, boiled and roasted, melons raw, and sodden, roots of divers kinds and divers fruits: their drink is commonly water, but while the grape lasts, they drink wine, and for want of casks to keep it, all the year after they drink water, but it is sodden with ginger in it and black cinnamon, and sometimes sassafras, and divers other wholesome, and medicinal herbs and trees. We were entertained with all love and kindness, and with much bounty, after their manner, as they could possibly devise. We found the people most gentle, loving and faithful,

void of all guile and treason, and such as live after the manner of the golden age. The people only care how to defend themselves from the cold in their short winter, and to feed themselves with such meat as the soil affords: their meat is very well sodden and they make broth very sweet and savory: their vessels are earthen pots, very large, white and sweet, their dishes are wooden platters of sweet timber: within the place where they feed was their lodging, and within that their idol, which they worship, of whom they speak incredible things. . . .

When we first had sight of this country, some thought the first land we saw to be the continent: but after we entered into the haven, we saw before us another mighty long Sea: for there lies along the coast a tract of islands, two hundred miles in length, adjoining to the ocean sea, and between the islands, two or three entrances: when you are entered between them, these islands being very narrow for the most part, as in most places six miles broad, in some places less, in few more, then there appears another great Sea, containing in breadth in some places, forty, and in some fifty, in some twenty miles over, before you come unto the continent: and in this enclosed Sea there are above an hundred islands of divers bigness, whereof one is sixteen miles long, . . . replenished with goodly cedars, and divers other sweet woods, full of currants, of flax, and many other notable commodities, which we had no leisure to view. . . .

THE COLONY AT ROANOKE

By Ralph Lane

THE enthusiastic account by Captains Amadas and Barlowe of their expedition to Virginia in 1584, delighted the great Elizabeth, as well as Raleigh who had sponsored the enterprise, and England's "Virgin Queen" named the new country Virginia in her own honor.

The expedition which founded Roanoke followed a year later. All told there were one hundred householders. They were left in charge of Ralph Lane, while Sir Richard Grenville, who had transported them, returned to England for supplies. Grenville was delayed, and the sufferings of the colonists were so severe that when Sir Francis Drake put in at Roanoke after destroying St. Augustine, the whole company returned with him to England.

This account of the ten months' history of the Roanoke Colony under Ralph Lane is taken from his report to Sir Walter Raleigh.

The king of the said province is called Menatonon, a man impotent in his limbs, but otherwise for a savage, a very grave and wise man, and of a very singular good discourse in matters concerning the state, not only of his own country, and the disposition of

TO THE Northwest the farthest place of our discovery was to Chawanook distant from Roanok about 130 miles. Our passage thither lies through a broad sound, but all fresh water, and the channel of a great depth, navigable for good shipping, but out of the channel full of shoals. . . .

Chawanook itself is the greatest province and Seigniorie lying upon that river, and that the town itself is able to put 700 fighting men into the field, besides the force of the province itself.

his own men, but also of his neighbors round about him as well far as near, and of the commodities that each country yields.

When I had him prisoner with me, for two days that we were together, he gave me more understanding and light of the country than I had received by all the searches and savages that before I or any of my company had had conference with: it was in March last past 1586. Among other things he told me, that going three days' journey in a canoe up his river of Chawanook, and then descending to the land, you are within four days' journey to pass over land North-east to a certain king's country, whose province lies upon the Sea, but his place of greatest strength is an island situated, as he described unto me, in a bay, the water round about the island very deep.

Out of this bay he signified unto me, that this King had so great quantity of pearls, and does so ordinarily take the same, as that not only his own skins that he wears, and the better sort of his gentlemen and followers are full set with the said pearls, but also his beds, and houses are garnished with them, and that he has such quantity of them, that it is a wonder to see. . . .

The king of Chawanook promised to give me guides to go overland into that king's country whensoever I would: but he advised me to take good store of men with me, and good store of victual, for he said, that king would be loth to suffer any strangers to enter into his country, and especially to meddle

with the fishing for any pearls there, and that he was able to make a great many of men in to the field, which he said would fight very well. . . .

And for that not only Menatonon, but also the savages of Moratoc themselves do report strange things of the head of that river, it is thirty days, as some of them say, and some say forty days' voyage to the head thereof, which head they say springs out of a main rock in that abundance, that forthwith it makes a most violent stream: and further, that this huge rock stands so near unto a Sea, that many times in storms (the wind coming outwardly from the sea) the waves thereof are beaten into the said fresh stream, so that the fresh water for a certain space, grows salt and brackish: I took a resolution with myself, having dismissed Menatonon upon a ransom agreed for, and sent his son into the pinnace to Roanoak, to enter presently so far into that river with two double whirries, and forty persons one or other, as I could have victual to carry us, until we could meet with more either of the Moraroks, or of the Mangoaks, which is another kind of savages, dwelling more to the westward of the said river: but the hope of recovering more victual from the savages made me and my company as narrowly to escape starving in that discovery before our return, as ever men did, that missed the same. . . .

And that which made me most desirous to have some doings with the Mangoaks either in friendship or otherwise to have had one or two of them prisoners,

was, for that it is a thing most notorious to all the country, that there is a province to the which the said Mangoaks have resource and traffic up that river of Moratoc, which has a marvelous and most strange mineral. This mine is so notorious among them, as not only to the savages dwelling up the said river, and also to the savages of Chawanook, and all them to the westward, but also to all them of the main: the country's name is of fame, and is called Chaunis Temoatan.

The mineral they say is Wassador, which is copper, but they call by the name of Wassador every metal whatsoever: they say it is of the color of our copper, but our copper is better than theirs: and the reason is for that it is redder and harder, whereas that of Chaunis Temoatan is very soft, and pale: they say that they take the said metal out of a river that falls very swift from high rocks and hills, and they take it in shallow water: the manner is this.

They take a great bowl by their description as great as one of our targets, and wrap a skin over the hollow part thereof, leaving one part open to receive in the mineral: that done, they watch the coming down of the current, and the change of the color of the water, and then suddenly chop down the said bowl with the skin, and receive into the same as much ore as will come in, which is ever as much as their bowl will hold, which presently they cast into a fire, and forthwith it melts, and does yield in five parts at the first melting, two parts of metal for three parts of ore.

Of this metal the Mangoaks have so great store, by report of all the savages adjoining, that they beautify their houses with great plates of the same: and this to be true, I received by report of all the country, and particularly by young Skiko, the King of Chawanooks son of my prisoner, who also himself had been prisoner with the Mangoaks, and set down all the particulars to me before mentioned: but he had not been at Chaunis Temoatan himself: for he said it was twenty days' journey overland from the Mangoaks, to the said mineral country, and that they passed through certain other territories between them and the Mangoaks, before they came to the said country.

Upon report of the premises, which I was very inquisitive in all places where I came to take very particular information of by all the savages that dwelt towards these parts, and especially of Menatonon himself, who in everything did very particularly inform me, and promised me guides of his own men, who should pass over with me, even to the said country of Chaunis Temoatan, for overland from Chawanook to the Mangoaks is but one day's journey from sun rising to sun setting, whereas by water it is seven days with the soonest: These things, I say, made me very desirous by all means possible to recover the Mangoaks, and to get some of that their copper for an assay, and therefore I willingly yielded to their resolution: But it fell out very contrary to all expectation, and likelihood: for after two days' travel, and our whole victual spent, lying on shore all night, we

could never see man, only fires we might perceive made along the shore where we were to pass, and up into the country, until the very last day.

In the evening whereof, about three of the clock we heard certain savages call as we thought, Manteo, who was also at that time with me in the boat, whereof we all being very glad, hoping of some friendly conference with them, and making him to answer them, they presently began a song, as we thought, in token of our welcome to them: but Manteo presently betook him to his piece, and told me that they meant to fight with us: which word was not so soon spoken by him, and the light horseman ready to put to shore, but there lighted a volley of their arrows among them in the boat, but did no hurt to any man. . . .

Choosing a convenient ground in safety to lodge in for the night, making a strong corps of guard, and putting out good sentinels, I determined the next morning before the rising of the sun to be going back again, if possibly we might recover the mouth of the river, into the broad sound, which at my first motion I found my whole company ready to assent unto: for they were now come to their dog's porridge, that they had bespoken for themselves if that befell them which did, and I before did mistrust we should hardly escape.

The end was, we came the next day by night to the river's mouth within four or five miles of the same, having rowed in one day down the current, much as in four days we had done against the same: we lodged

upon an island, where we had nothing in the world to eat but pottage of sassafras leaves, the like whereof for a meat was never used before as I think. The broad sound we had to pass the next day all fresh and fasting: that day the wind blew so strongly and the billow so great, that there was no possibility of passage without sinking of our boats. This was upon Easter eve, which was fasted very truly. Upon Easter day in the morning the wind coming very calm, we entered the sound, and by four of the clock we were at Chipanum, whence all the savages that we had left there were left, but their wares did yield us some fish, as God was pleased not utterly to suffer us to be lost: for some of our company of the light horsemen were far spent. The next morning we arrived at our home Roanoak. . . .

This fell out the first of June 1586, and the eight of the same came advertisement to me from captain Stafford, lying at my lord Admiral's Island, that he had discovered a great fleet of three and twenty sails: but whether they were friends or foes, he could not yet discern. He advised me to stand upon as good guard as I could.

The ninth of the said month he himself came unto me, having that night before, and that same day traveled by land twenty miles: and I must truly report of him from the first to the last; he was the gentleman that never spared labor or peril either by land or water, fair weather or foul, to perform any service committed unto him.

He brought me a letter from the General Sir Francis Drake, with a most bountiful and honorable offer for the supply of our necessities to the performance of the action we were entered into; and that not only of victuals, munition, and clothing, but also of barks, pinnaces, and boats; they also by him to be victualed, manned and furnished to my contentation.

The tenth day he arrived in the road of our bad harbor: and coming there to an anchor, the eleventh day I came to him, whom I found in deeds most honorably to perform that which in writing and message he had most courteously offered, he having aforehand propounded the matter to all the captains of his fleet, and got their liking and consent thereto.

With such thanks unto him and his captains for his care both of us and of our action, not as the matter deserved, but as I could both for my company and myself, I (being aforehand prepared what I would desire) craved at his hands that it would please him to take with him into England a number of weak and unfit men for any good action, which I would deliver to him; and in place of them to supply me of his company with oar-men, artificers, and others.

That he would leave us so much shipping and victual, as about August then next following would carry me and all my company into England, when we had discovered somewhat, that for lack of needful provision in time left with us as yet remained undone.

That it would please him withal to leave some sufficient Masters not only to carry us into England, when

time should be, but also to search the coast for some better harbor, if there were any, and especially to help us to some small boats and oar-men. . . .

While these things were in hand, the provision aforesaid being brought, and in bringing aboard, my said masters being also gone aboard, my said barks having accepted of their charge, and my own officers, with others in like sort of my company with them (all which was dispatched by the said general the 12 of the said month) the 13 of the same there arose such an unwonted storm, and continued four days. . . .

This storm having continued from the 13 to the 16 of the month, and thus my bark put away as aforesaid, the general coming ashore made a new proffer unto me; which was a ship of 170 tons, called the bark Bonner, with a sufficient master and guide to tarry with me the time appointed, and victualed sufficiently to carry me and my company into England, with all provisions as before: but he told me that he would not for anything undertake to have her brought into our harbor, and therefore he was to leave her in the road, and to leave the care of the rest unto myself, and advised me to consider with my company of our case, and to deliver presently unto him in writing what I would require him to do for us; which being within his power, he did assure me as well for his captains as for himself, should be most willingly performed.

Hereupon calling such captains and gentlemen of my company as then were at hand, who were all as privy as myself to the general's offer; their whole request was to me, that considering the case that we stood in, the weakness of our company, the small number of the same, the carrying away of our first appointed bark, with those two special masters, with our principal provisions in the same, by the very hand of God as it seemed, stretched out to take us from thence; considering also, that his second offer, though most honorable of his part, yet of ours not to be taken, insomuch as there was no possibility for her with any safety to be brought into the harbor: seeing furthermore, our hope for supply with Sir Richard Grenville, so undoubtedly promised us before Easter, not yet come, neither then likely to come this year, considering the doings in England for Flanders, and also for America, that therefore I would resolve myself with my company to go into England in that fleet, and accordingly to make request to the general in all our names, that he would be pleased to give us present passage with him. . . .

From whence the general in the name of the Almighty, weighing his anchors (having bestowed us among his fleet) for the relief of whom he had in that storm sustained more peril of wreck than in all his former most honorable actions against the Spaniards, with praises unto God for all, set sail the nineteenth of June 1596, and arrived in Portsmouth the seven and twentieth of July the same year.

THE BIRTH OF VIRGINIA DARE

By John White

VIRGINIA DARE was not "the first white child to be born in America," as is generally supposed, but was the first child of English parentage to be born in America. Her father was Ananias Dare, and her grandfather was John White, Governor of Virginia, who wrote this account of her birth.

The disappearance of White's colony is a mystery about which historians continue to speculate. Other expeditions followed, but no further attempts were made to plant a permanent settlement at Roanoke.

THE two and twentieth day of July we came safely to Cape Hatteras, where our ship and pinnace anchored. The Governor went aboard the pinnace accompanied by forty of his best men, intending to pass up to Roanoke. He hoped to find those fifteen Englishmen whom Sir Richard Grenville had left there the year before. With these he meant to have a conference

concerning the state of the country and the savages, intending then to return to the fleet and pass along the coast to the Bay of Chesapeake. Here we intended to make our settlement and fort according to the charge given us among other directions in writing under the hand of Sir Walter Raleigh. We passed to Roanoke and the same night at sunset went ashore on the island, in the place where our fifteen men were left. But we found none of them, nor any sign that they had been there, saving only that we found the bones of one of them, whom the savages had slain long before.

The Governor with several of his company walked the next day to the north end of the island, where Master Ralph Lane, with his men the year before, had built his fort with sundry dwelling houses. We hoped to find some signs here, or some certain knowledge of our fifteen men.

When we came thither we found the fort razed, but all the houses standing unhurt, saving that the lower rooms of them, and of the fort also, were overgrown with melons of different sorts, and deer were in rooms feeding on those melons. So we returned to our company without the hope of ever seeing any of the fifteen men living.

The same day an order was given that every man should be employed in remodeling those houses which we found standing, and in making more cottages.

On the eighteenth a daughter was born in Roanoke to Eleanor, the daughter of the Governor and the wife of Ananias Dare. This baby was christened on the Sunday following, and because this child was the first Christian born in Virginia she was named Virginia Dare.

By this time our shipmasters had unloaded the goods and victuals of the planters and taken wood and fresh water, and were newly calking and trimming their vessels for their return to England. The settlers also prepared their letters and news to send back to England.

THE SETTLEMENT OF JAMESTOWN

By Captain John Smith

THE POCAHONTAS incident was only one small episode in the fascinating career of Captain John Smith. Famed alike for his modesty, good judgment and magnanimity, this splendid "soldier of fortune" was a Captain of Artillery in 1601, and a Captain of Cavalry the same year, taking part in battles in Hungary and Transylvania.

He promoted and saved from destruction the plantation at Jamestown. He made a masterly survey of inland Virginia in 1607-8, and the same year he discovered Chesapeake Bay. In 1614 he discovered the New England Coast.

Along with his other accomplishments he was a writer of no mean ability. He wrote a "Sea Grammar" and began, but never finished, a "History of the Sea," and from 1614 to 1630 he was the indefatigable and eloquent historian of English colonization in America. But for him the process of peopling the new continent with Anglo-Saxons would have been delayed indefinitely.

IT might well be thought, a country so fair (as Virginia is) and a people so tractable, would long ere this have been quietly possessed, to the satisfaction of the adventurers, and the eternizing of the memory of those that effected it. But because all the world do see a failure; this following treatise shall give satisfaction to all indifferent readers, how the business has been carried: where no doubt they will easily understand and answer to their question, how it came to pass there was no better speed and success in those proceedings.

Captain Bartholomew

Gosnold, one of the first movers of this plantation, having many years solicited many of his friends, but found small assistance; at last prevailed with some

gentlemen, as Captain John Smith, Master Edward-maria Wingfield, Master Robert Hunt, and divers others, who depended a year upon his projects, but nothing could be effected, till by their great charge and industry, it came to be apprehended by certain of the nobility, gentry, and merchants, so that his Majesty by his letters patents, gave commission for establishing councils, to direct here; and to govern, and to execute there. To effect this, was spent another year, and by that, three ships were provided, one of 100 tons, another of 40 and a pinnace of 20. The transportation of the company was committed to Captain Christopher Newport, a mariner well practiced for the western parts of America. But their orders for government were put in a box, not to be opened, nor the governors known until they arrived in Virginia.

On the 19 of December, 1606, we set sail from Blackwall, but by unprosperous winds, were kept six weeks in the sight of England; all which time, Master Hunt our preacher, was so weak and sick, that few expected his recovery. Yet although he were but twenty miles from his habitation (the time we were in the Downes) and notwithstanding the stormy weather, nor the scandalous imputations (of some few, little better than atheists, of the greatest rank among us) suggested against him, all this could never force from him so much as a seeming desire to leave the business, but preferred the service of God, in so good a voyage, before any affection to contest with

his godless foes whose disastrous designs (could they have prevailed) had even then overthrown the business, so many discontents did then arise, had he not with the water of patience, and his godly exhortations (but chiefly by his true devoted examples) quenched those flames of envy, and dissension. . . .

The first land they made they called Cape Henry; where thirty of them recreating themselves on shore, were assaulted by five savages, who hurt two of the English very dangerously.

That night was the box opened, and the orders read, in which Bartholomew Gosnol, John Smith, Edward Wingfield, Christopher Newport, John Ratliff, John Martin, and George Kendall, were named to be the council, and to choose a president among them for a year, who with the council should govern. Matters of moment were to be examined by a jury, but determined by the major part of the council, in which the president had two voices.

Until the 13 of May they sought a place to plant in; then the council was sworn, Master Wingfield was chosen president, and an oration made, why Captain Smith was not admitted of the council as the rest.

Now falls every man to work, the council contrive the fort, the rest cut down trees to make place to pitch their tents; some provide clapboard to relade the ships, some make gardens, some nets, etc. The savages often visited us kindly. The president's overweening jealousy would admit no exercise at arms, or fortification but the boughs of trees cast together

in the form of a half moon by the extraordinary pains and diligence of Captain Kendall.

Newport, Smith, and twenty others, were sent to discover the head of the river: by divers small habitations they passed, in six days they arrived at a town called Powhatan, consisting of some twelve houses, pleasantly seated on a hill; before it three fertile isles, about it many of their cornfields, the place is very pleasant, and strong by nature, of this place the Prince is called Powhatan, and his people Powhatans. To this place the river is navigable: but higher within a mile, by reason of the rocks and isles, there is not passage for a small boat, this they call the falls. The people in all parts kindly entreated them, till being returned within twenty miles of Jamestown, they gave just cause of jealousy: but had God not blessed the discoverers otherwise than those at the fort, there had then been an end of that plantation; for at the fort, where they arrived the next day, they found 17 men hurt, and a boy slain by the savages, and had it not chanced a cross bar shot from the ships struck down a bough from a tree among them, that caused them to retire, our men had all been slain, being securely all at work, and their arms in dry fats.

Hereupon the president was contented the fort should be pallisaded, the ordnance mounted, his men armed and exercised: for many were the assaults, and ambuscades of the savages, and our men by their disorderly straggling were often hurt, when the savages by the nimbleness of their heels well escaped.

What toil we had, with so small a power to guard our workmen by day, watch all night, resist our enemies, and effect our business, to relade the ships, cut down trees, and prepare the ground to plant our corn, etc., I refer to the reader's consideration.

Six weeks being spent in this manner, Captain Newport (who was hired only for our transportation) was to return with the ships.

Now Captain Smith, who all this time from their departure from the Canaries was restrained as a prisoner upon the scandalous suggestions of some of the chiefs (envying his repute) who fained he intended to usurp the government, murder the council, and make himself king, that his confederates were dispersed in all the three ships, and that divers of his confederates that revealed it, would affirm it; for this he was committed as a prisoner.

Thirteen weeks he remained thus suspected, and by that time the ships should return they pretended out of their commiserations, to refer him to the council in England to receive a check, rather than by particulating his designs make him so odious to the world, as to touch his life, or utterly overthrow his reputation. But he so much scorned their charity, and publicly defied the uttermost of their cruelty; he wisely prevented their policies, though he could not suppress their envy; yet so well he demeaned himself in this business, as all the company did see his innocency, and his adversaries' malice, and those suborned to accuse him, accused his accusers of sub-

ornation; many untruths were alleged against him; but being so apparently disproved, begat a general hatred in the hearts of the company against such unjust commanders, that the president was adjudged to give him 200l.; so that all he had was seized upon, in part of satisfaction, which Smith presently returned to the store for the general use of the colony.

Many were the mischiefs that daily sprung from their ignorant (yet ambitious) spirits; but the good doctrine and exhortation of our preacher Master Hunt reconciled them, and caused Captain Smith to be admitted of the council.

The next day all received the communion, the day following the savages voluntarily desired peace, and Captain Newport returned for England with news; leaving in Virginia 100 the 15 of June 1607.

Being thus left to our fortunes, it fortuneed that within ten days scarce ten among us could either go, or well stand, such extreme weakness and sickness oppressed us. And thereat none need marvel, if they consider the cause and reason, which was this.

While the ships stayed, our allowance was somewhat bettered, by a daily proportion of biscuit, which the sailors would pilfer to sell, give, or exchange with us, for money, sassafras, furs, or love. But when they departed, there remained neither tavern, beer house, nor place of relief, but the common kettle. Had we been as free from all sins as gluttony, and drunkenness, we might have been canonized for Saints; but our president would never have been ad-

mitted, for ingrossing to his private, oatmeal, sack, oil, aquavitæ, beef, eggs, or what not, but the kettle; that indeed he allowed equally to be distributed, and that was half a pint of wheat, and as much barley boiled with water for a man a day, and this having fried some 26 weeks in the ship's hold, contained as many worms as grains; so that we might truly call it rather so much bran than corn, our drink was water, our lodgings castles in the air.

With this lodging and diet, our extreme toil in bearing and planting pallisades, so strained and bruised us, and our continual labor in the extremity of the heat had so weakened us, as were cause sufficient to have made us as miserable in our native country, or any other place in the world.

From May, to September, those that escaped, lived upon sturgeon, and sea-crabs, fifty in this time we buried, the rest seeing the president's projects to escape these miseries in our pinnace by flight (who all this time had neither felt want nor sickness) so moved our dead spirits, as we deposed him; and established Ratcliff in his place, (Gosnol being dead) Kendall deposed. Smith newly recovered, Martin and Ratcliff was by his care preserved and relieved, and the most of the soldiers recovered with the skillful diligence of Master Thomas Wotton our surgeon general.

But now was all our provision spent, the sturgeon gone, all helps abandoned, each hour expecting the fury of the savages; when God the patron of all good

endeavors, in that desperate extremity so changed the hearts of the savages, that they brought such plenty of their fruits, and provision, as no man wanted. . . .

But our comedies never endured long without a tragedy; some idle exceptions being muttered against Captain Smith, for not discovering the head of Chickahamania river, and taxed by the council, to be too slow in so worthy an attempt. The next voyage he proceeded so far that with much labor by cutting of trees insunder he made his passage; but when his barge could pass no farther, he left her in a broad bay out of danger of shot, commanding none should go ashore till his return: himself with two English and two savages went up higher in a canoe; but he was not long absent, but his men went ashore, whose want of government gave both occasion and opportunity to the savages to surprise one George Cassen, whom they slew, and much failed not to have cut off the boat and all the rest.

Smith little dreaming of that accident, being got to the marshes at the river's head, twenty miles in the desert, had his two men slain (as is supposed) sleeping by the canoe, while himself by fowling sought them victual: who finding he was beset with 200 savages, two of them he slew, still defending himself with the aid of a savage his guide whom he bound to his arm with his garters, and used him as a buckler, yet he was shot in his thigh a little, and had many arrows that stuck in his clothes but no great hurt, till at last they took him prisoner.

When this news came to Jamestown, much was their sorrow for his loss, few expecting what ensued.

Six or seven weeks those Barbarians kept him prisoner, many strange triumphs and conjurations they made of him, yet he so demeaned himself among them, as he not only diverted them from surprising the fort, but procured his own liberty, and got himself and his company such estimation among them, that those savages admired him more than their own Quiyouckosucks. . . .

At last they brought him to Meronocomoco, where was Powhatan their emperor. Here more than two hundred of those grim courtiers stood wondering at him, as he had been a monster; till Powhatan and his train had put themselves in their greatest braveries. Before a fire upon a seat like a bedstead, he sat covered with a great robe, made of Rarowcun (raccoon?) skins, and all the tails hanging by. On either hand did sit a young wench of 16 or 18 years, and along on each side the house, two rows of men, and behind them as many women, with all their heads and shoulders painted red: many of their heads bedecked with the white down of birds; but every one with something: and a great chain of white beads about their necks.

At his entrance before the king, all the people gave a great shout. The queen of Appamatuck was appointed to bring him water to wash his hands, and another brought him a bunch of feathers, instead of a towel to dry them: having feasted him after their

best barbarous manner they could, a long consultation was held, but the conclusion was, two great stones were brought before Powhatan: then as many as could laid hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, and being ready with their clubs, to beat out his brains, Pocahontas the king's dearest daughter, when no entreaty could prevail, got his head in her arms, and laid her own upon his to save him from death: whereat the Emperor was contented he should live to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads, and copper; for they thought him as well of all occupations as themselves. For the king himself will make his own robes, shoes, bowes, arrows, pots; plant, hunt, or do anything so well as the rest.

They say he bore a pleasant show,
But sure his heart was sad.
For who can pleasant be, and rest,
That lives in fear and dread:
And having life suspected, doth
It still suspected lead.

Two days after, Powhatan having disguised himself in the most fearful manner he could, caused Captain Smith to be brought forth to a great house in the woods, and thereupon a mat by the fire to be left alone. Not long after from behind a mat that divided the house, was made the most doleful noise he ever heard; then Powhatan more like a devil than a man, with some two hundred more as black as himself, came unto him and told him now they were friends,

and presently he should go to Jamestown, to send him two great guns, and a grindstone, for which he would give him the country of Capahowosick, and forever esteem him as his son Nantaquoud.

So to Jamestown with 12 guides Powhatan sent him. That night they quartered in the woods, he still expecting (as he had done all this long time of his imprisonment) every hour to be put to one death or other: for all their feasting. But almighty God (by his divine providence) had mollified the hearts of those stern barbarians with compassion. The next morning betimes they came to the fort, where Smith having used the savages with what kindness he could, he showed Rawhunt, Powhatan's trusty servant, two demi-culverins and a millstone to carry Powhatan: they found them somewhat too heavy; but when they did see him discharge them, being loaded with stones, among the boughs of a great tree loaded with icicles the ice and branches came so tumbling down, that the poor savages ran away half dead with fear. But at last we regained some conference with them, and gave them such toys; and sent to Powhatan, his women, and children such presents, as gave them in general full content.

NOW in Jamestown they were all in combustion, the strongest preparing once more to run away with the pinnacle; which with the hazard of his life, with Sakre falcon and musket shot, Smith forced now the third time to stay or sink.

Some no better than they should be, had plotted with the president, the next day to have put him to death by the Levitical law, for the lives of Robinson and Emry; pretending the fault was his that had led them to their ends: but he quickly took such order with such lawyers, that he laid them by the heels till he sent some of them prisoners for England.

Now every once in four or five days, Pocahontas with her attendants, brought him so much provision, that saved many of their lives, that else for all this had starved with hunger.

Thus from numb death our good God sent relief,
The sweet assuager of all other grief.

His relation of the plenty he had seen, especially at Werawocomoco, and of the state and bounty of Powhatan, (which till that time was unknown) so revived their dead spirits (especially the love of Pocahontas) as all men's fear was abandoned.

Thus you may see what difficulties still crossed any good endeavor; and the good success of the business being thus often brought to the very period of destruction; yet you see by what strange means God has still delivered it.

As for the insufficiency of them admitted in commission, that error could not be prevented by the electors; there being no other choice, and all strangers to each other's education, qualities, or disposition.



*These are the Lines that shew thy Face: but those
 That shew thy Grace and Glory brighter bee.
 Thy Faire-Discoveries and Fowle - Overthrowes
 Of Salvages, much Civilizd by thee
 Best shew thy Spirit: and to it Glory Wynn.
 So, thou art Brasfe without, but Golde within
 If so, in Brasfe, (too soft smiths Acts to beare)
 I fix thy Fame, to make Brasfe steele out weare.*

*Thine, as thou art Virtues,
 John Dauco. Heref.*

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH

And if any deem it a shame to our Nation to have any mention made of those enormities, let him peruse the Histories of the Spaniard's Discoveries and Plantations, where they may see how many mutinies, disorders, and dissensions have accompanied them, and crossed their attempts: which being known to be particular men's offenses; does take away the general scorn and contempt, which malice, presumption, coveteousness, or ignorance might produce; to the scandal and reproach of those, whose actions and valiant resolutions deserve a more worthy respect.

Now whether it had been better for Captain Smith, to have concluded with any of those several projects, to have abandoned the country, with some ten or twelve of them, who were called the better sort, and have left Master Hunt our preacher, Master Anthony Gosnol, a most honest, worthy, and industrious gentleman, Master Thomas Wotton, and some 27 others of his countrymen to the fury of the savages, famine, and all manner of mischiefs, and inconveniences, (for they were but forty in all to keep possession of this large country;) or starve himself with them for company, for want of lodging: or but adventuring abroad to make them provision, or by his opposition to preserve the action, and save all their lives; I leave to the censure of all honest men to consider. . . .

THE FOUNDING OF QUEBEC—1608

From the "Voyages" of Samuel de Champlain

WHEN Champlain came to America in 1608, it was his third trip to the New World. This time he came with the definite purpose of planting a colony on the banks of the St. Lawrence as a base for future French operations. We have here his own account of his pioneer work in the founding of Quebec, the city which was to play such an important part in the struggle between France and England for possession of the North American Continent.

Francis Parkman, the great historian, who devoted most of his life to the writing of "*Pioneers of France in the New World*," says of Champlain's writings: "They mark the man—all for his theme and his purpose, nothing for himself. Crude in style, full of superficial errors of carelessness and haste, rarely diffuse, often brief to a fault, they bear on every page the palpable impress of truth."

HAVING returned to France after a stay of three years in New France, I proceeded to Sieur de Monts, and related to him the principal events of which I had been a witness since his departure, and gave him the map and plan of the most remarkable coasts and harbors there.

Some time afterward Sieur de Monts determined to continue his undertaking, and complete the exploration of the interior along the great river St. Lawrence, where I had been by order of the late King Henry

the Great in the year 1603, for a distance of some hundred and eighty leagues, commencing in latitude $48^{\circ} 40'$, that is, at Gaspé, at the entrance of the river, as far as the great fall, which is in latitude 45° and some minutes, where our exploration ended, and

where boats could not pass as we then thought, since we had not made a careful examination of it as we have since done.

Now, after *Sieur de Monts* had conferred with me several times in regard to his purposes concerning the exploration, he resolved to continue so noble and meritorious an undertaking, notwithstanding the hardships and labors of the past. He honored me with his lieutenancy for the voyage; and, in order to carry out his purpose, he had two vessels equipped, one commanded by *Pont Gravé*, who was commissioned to trade with the savages of the country and bring back the vessels, while I was to winter in the country. . . .

I proceeded to *Honfleur* for embarkation, where I found the vessel of *Pont Gravé* in readiness. He left port on the 5th of April. I did so on the 13th, arriving at the *Grand Bank* on the 15th of May, in latitude $45^{\circ} 15'$. On the 26th we sighted *Cape St. Mary*, in latitude $46^{\circ} 45'$, on the *Island of Newfoundland*. On the 27th of the month we sighted *Cape St. Lawrence*, on *Cape Breton*, and also the *Island of St. Paul*, distant eighty-three leagues from *Cape St. Mary*. On the 30th we sighted *Isle Percée* and *Gaspé*, in latitude $48^{\circ} 40'$, distant from *Cape St. Lawrence* from seventy to seventy-five leagues.

On the 3d of June we arrived before *Tadoussac*, distant from *Gaspé* from eighty to ninety leagues; and we anchored in the roadstead of *Tadoussac*, a league distant from the harbor, which latter is a kind

of cove at the mouth of the river Saguenay, where the tide is very remarkable on account of its rapidity, and where there are sometimes violent winds, bringing severe cold.

I set out from Tadoussac the last day of the month to go to Quebec. . . .

From the Island of Orleans to Quebec the distance is a league. I arrived there on the 3d of July, when I searched for a place suitable for our settlement; but I could find none more convenient or better situated than the point of Quebec, so called by the savages, which was covered with nut-trees. I at once employed a portion of our workmen in cutting them down, that we might construct our habitation there: one I set to sawing boards, another to making a cellar and digging ditches, another I sent to Tadoussac with the barque to get supplies. The first thing we made was the storehouse for keeping under cover our supplies, which was promptly accomplished through the zeal of all, and my attention to the work.

Some days after my arrival at Quebec a locksmith conspired against the service of the king. His plan was to put me to death, and, getting possession of our fort, to put it into the hands of the Basques or Spaniards, then at Tadoussac, beyond which vessels cannot go, from not having a knowledge of the route, nor of the banks and rocks on the way.

In order to execute his wretched plan, by which he hoped to make his fortune, he suborned four of the worst characters, as he supposed, telling them a thou-

sand falsehoods, and presenting to them prospects of acquiring riches.

These four men, having been won over, all promised to act in such a manner as to gain the rest over to their side, so that, for the time being, I had no one with me in whom I could put confidence, which gave them still more hope of making their plan succeed; for four or five of my companions, in whom they knew that I put confidence, were on board of the barques, for the purpose of protecting the provisions and supplies necessary for our settlement.

In a word, they were so skillful in carrying out their intrigues with those who remained that they were on the point of gaining all over to their cause, even my lackey, promising them many things which they could not have fulfilled.

Being now all agreed, they made daily different plans as to how they should put me to death, so as not to be accused of it, which they found to be a difficult thing. But the devil, blindfolding them all and taking away their reason and every possible difficulty, they determined to take me while unarmed, and strangle me, or to give a false alarm at night, and shoot me as I went out, in which manner they judged that they would accomplish their work sooner than otherwise. They made a mutual promise not to betray each other, on penalty that the first one who opened his mouth should be poniarded. They were to execute their plan in four days, before the arrival

of our barques, otherwise they would have been unable to carry out their scheme.

On this very day one of our barques arrived, with our pilot, Captain Testu, a very discreet man. After the barque was unloaded, and ready to return to Tadoussac, there came to him a locksmith, named Natel, an associate of Jean du Val, the head of the conspiracy, who told him that he had promised the rest to do just as they did, but that he did not in fact desire the execution of the plot, yet did not dare to make a disclosure in regard to it from fear of being poniarded.

Antoine Natel made the pilot promise that he would make no disclosure in regard to what he should say, since, if his companions should discover it, they would put him to death. The pilot gave him his assurance in all particulars, and asked him to state the character of the plot which they wished to carry out. This Natel did at length, when the pilot said to him: "My friend, you have done well to disclose such a malicious design, and you show that you are an upright man, and under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. But these things cannot be passed by without bringing them to the knowledge of Sieur de Champlain, that he may make provision against them, and I promise you that I will prevail upon him to pardon you and the rest. And I will at once," said the pilot, "go to him without exciting any suspicion; and do you go about your business, listening to all they may say, and not troubling yourself about the rest."

The pilot came at once to me, in a garden which I was having prepared, and said that he wished to speak to me in a private place, where we could be alone. I readily assented, and we went into the wood, where he related to me the whole affair. I asked who had told it to him. He begged me to pardon him who had made the disclosure, which I consented to do, although he ought to have addressed himself to me. He was afraid, he replied, that you would become angry, and harm him. I told him that I was able to govern myself better than that in such a matter, and desired him to have the man come to me, that I might hear his statement. He went, and brought him all trembling with fear lest I should do him some harm. I reassured him, telling him not to be afraid, that he was in a place of safety, and that I should pardon him for all that he had done, together with the others, provided he would tell me in full the truth in regard to the whole matter, and the motive which had impelled them to it. "Nothing," he said, "had impelled them, except that they had imagined that, by giving up the place into the hands of the Basques or Spaniards, they might all become rich, and that they did not want to go back to France." He also related to me the remaining particulars of their conspiracy.

After having heard and questioned him, I directed him to go about his work. Meanwhile I ordered the pilot to bring up his shallop, which he did. Then I gave two bottles of wine to a young man, directing him to say to these four worthies, the leaders of the

conspiracy, that it was a present of wine, which his friends at Tadoussac had given him, and that he wished to share it with them. This they did not decline, and at evening were on board the barque where he was to give them the entertainment. I lost no time in going there shortly after, and caused them to be seized and held until the next day. . . .

The same day I had six pairs of handcuffs made for the authors of the conspiracy: one for our surgeon, named Bonnerme, one for another, named La Taille, whom the four conspirators had accused, which, however, proved false, and consequently they were given their liberty.

This being done, I took my worthies to Tadoussac, begging Pont Gravé to do me the favor of guarding them, since I had as yet no secure place for keeping them, and as we were occupied in constructing our places of abode. Another object was to consult with him, and others on the ship, as to what should be done in the premises. We suggested that, after he had finished his work at Tadoussac, he should come to Quebec with the prisoners, where we should have them confronted with their witnesses, and, after giving them a hearing, order justice to be done.

I went back the next day to Quebec, to hasten the completion of our storehouse, so as to secure our provisions, which had been misused by all those scoundrels, who spared nothing, without reflecting how they could find more when these failed; for I could

not obviate the difficulty until the storehouse should be completed and shut up.

Pont Gravé arrived some time after me, with the prisoners, which caused uneasiness to the workmen who remained, since they feared that I should pardon them, and that they would avenge themselves upon them for revealing their wicked design.

After Pont Gravé and I, the captain of the vessel, surgeon, mate, second mate, and other sailors had heard their depositions and face to face statements, we adjudged that it would be enough to put to death Du Val, as the instigator of the conspiracy; and that he might serve as an example to those who remained, leading them to deport themselves correctly in future, in the charge of their duty; and that the Spaniards and Basques might not glory in the event. We adjudged that the three others be condemned to be hung, but that they should be taken to France and put into the hands of Sieur de Monts, that such ample justice might be done them as he should recommend; that they should be sent with all the evidence and their sentence, as well as that of Jean du Val, who was strangled and hung at Quebec, and his head was put on the end of a pike, to be set up in the most conspicuous place on our fort.

After all these occurrences, Pont Gravé set out from Quebec to return to France with the three prisoners. After he had gone, all who remained conducted themselves correctly in the discharge of their duty.

THE FIRST REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY

By John Twine, Its Secretary

A REPORT of the manner of proceedings in the General assembly convened at James City in Virginia, July 30, 1619, consisting of the Governor, the Council of Estate and two Burgesses elected out of each incorporation and plantation, and being dissolved the 4th of August next ensuing.

First. Sir George Yeardley, Knight Governor and captain general of Virginia, sent his summons all over the country, as well to invite those of the Council of Estate that were absent as also for the election of Burgesses. . . .

The most convenient place we could find to sit in was the quire of the church where Sir George Yeardley, the Governor, being set down in his accustomed place, those of the Council of Estate sat next him on both hands, except only the Secretary then appointed Speaker, who sat right before him, John Twine, clerk of the General assembly, being placed next the Speaker, and Thomas Pierse, the Sergeant, standing at the bar, to be ready for any service the Assembly should command him. But forasmuch as men's affairs do little prosper where God's service is neglected, all the Burgesses took their places in the quire till a prayer was said by Mr. Bucke, the minister, that it would please God to guide and sanctify all

our proceedings to his own glory and the good of this plantation. Prayer being ended, to the intent that as we had begun at God Almighty, so we might proceed with awful and due respect towards the Lieutenant, our most gracious and dread Sovereign, all the Burgesses were entreated to retire themselves into the body of the church, which being done, before they were fully admitted, they were called in order and by name, and so every man (none staggering at it) took the oath of supremacy, and then entered the Assembly. . . .

These obstacles removed, the Speaker, who a long time had been extreme sickly and therefore not able to pass through long harangues, delivered in brief to the whole assembly the occasions of their meeting. Which done, he read unto them the commission for establishing the Council of Estate and the general Assembly, wherein their duties were described to the life.

Having thus prepared them, he read over unto them the great charter, or commission of privileges, orders and laws, sent by Sir George Yeardley out of England. Which for the more ease of the committees, having divided into four books, he read the former two the same forenoon, for expedition's sake, a second time over; and so they were referred to the perusal of two committees, which did reciprocally consider of either, and accordingly brought in their opinions. But some men may here object to what end we should presume to refer that to the examination of the com-

mittees which the Council and company in England had already resolved to be perfect, and did expect nothing but our assent thereunto? To this we answer that we did it not to the end to correct or control anything therein contained, but only in case we should find ought not perfectly squaring with the state of this colony or any law which did press or bind too hard, that we might by way of humble petition, seek to have it redressed, especially because this great charter is to bind us and our heirs forever. . . .

After dinner the Governor and those that were not of the committees sat a second time, while the said committees were employed in the perusal of those two books. And whereas the Speaker had propounded four several objects for the Assembly to consider: First, the great charter of orders, laws, and privileges; Secondly, which of the instructions given by the Council in England to my lord Delaware, Captain Argall or Sir George Yeardley, might conveniently put on the habit of laws; Thirdly, what laws might issue out of the private conceit of any of the Burgesses, or any other of the colony; and lastly, what petitions were fit to be sent home for England. It pleased the Governor for expedition's sake to have the second object of the four to be examined and prepared by himself and the non-committees. Wherein after having spent some three hours' conference, the two committees brought in their opinions concerning the two former books, (the second of which begins at these words of the charter: And

forasmuch as our intent is to establish one equal and uniform kind of government over all Virginia, etc.,) which the whole Assembly, because it was late, deferred to treat of till the next morning. . . .

There remaining no farther scruple in the minds of the Assembly, touching the said great charter of laws, orders and privileges, the Speaker put the same to the question, and so it had both the general assent and the applause of the whole assembly, who, as they professed themselves in the first place most submissively thankful to Almighty God, therefore so they commanded the Speaker to return (as now he does) their due and humble thanks to the Treasurer, Council and company for so many privileges and favors as well in their own names as in the names of the whole colony whom they represented.

This being dispatched we fell once more debating of such instructions given by the Council in England to several Governors as might be converted into laws, the last whereof was the establishment of the price of tobacco, namely, of the best at 3d and the second at 18d the pound, . . .

Monday, Aug. 2.

. . . , the Committees appointed to consider what instructions are fit to be converted into laws, brought in their opinions, and first of some of the general instructions.

Here begin the laws drawn out of the instructions given by his Majesty's Council of Virginia in England . . .

By this present General Assembly be it enacted, that no injury or oppression be wrought by the English against the Indians whereby the present peace might be disturbed and ancient quarrels might be revived. And farther be it ordained that the Chichomins are not to be excepted out of this law; until either that such order come out of England, or that they do provoke us by some new injury.

Against idleness, gaming, drunkenness and excess in apparel the Assembly has enacted as follows:

First, in detestation of idleness be it enacted, that if any men be found to live as an idler or renegade, though a freedman, it shall be lawful for that incorporation or plantation to which he belongs to appoint him a master to serve for wages, till he show apparent signs of amendment.

Against gaming at dice and cards be it ordained by this present assembly that the winner or winners shall lose all his or their winnings and both winners and losers shall forfeit ten shillings a man, one ten shillings whereof to go to the discoverer, and the rest to charitable and pious uses in the incorporation where the fault is committed.

Against drunkenness be it also decreed that if any private person be found culpable thereof, for the first time he is to be reprov'd privately by the minister,

the second time publicly, the third time to lie in bolts 12 hours in the house of the Provost Marshal and to pay his fee, and if he still continue in that vice, to undergo such severe punishment as the Governor and Council of Estate shall think fit to be inflicted on him. But if any officer offend in this crime, the first time he shall receive a reproof from the Governor, the second time he shall openly be reprov'd in the church by the minister, and the third time he shall first be committed and then degraded. Provided it be understood that the Governor has always power to restore him when he shall, in his discretion think fit.

Against excess in apparel that every man be assessed in the church for all public contributions, if he be unmarried according to his own apparel, if he be married according to his own and his wife's, or either of their apparel. . . .

Be it enacted by this present assembly that for laying a surer foundation of the conversion of the Indians to Christian religion, each town, city, borough, and particular plantation do obtain unto themselves by just means a certain number of the natives' children to be educated by them in the true religion and civil course of life—of which children the most towardly boys in wit and graces of nature to be brought up by them in the first elements of literature, so to be fitted for the college intended for them that from thence they may be sent to that work of conversion.

As touching the business of planting corn this present Assembly does ordain that year by year all and every householder and householders have in store for every servant he or they shall keep, and also for his or their own persons, whether they have any servants or no, one spare barrel of corn, to be delivered out yearly, either upon sale or exchange as need shall require. For the neglect of which duty he shall be subject to the censure of the Governor and Council of Estate. Provided always that the first year of every new man this law shall not be of force.

About the plantation of mulberry trees, be it enacted that every man as he is seated upon his division, do for seven years together, every year plant and maintain in growth six mulberry trees at the least, and as many more as he shall think convenient and as his virtue and industry shall move him to plant, and that all such persons as shall neglect the yearly planting and maintaining of that small proportion shall be subject to the censure of the Governor and the Council of Estate.

Be it farther enacted as concerning silk-flax, that those men that are upon their division or settled habitation do this next year plant and dress 100 plants, which being found a commodity, may farther be increased. And whosoever do fail in the performance of this shall be subject to this punishment of the Governor and Council of Estate.

For hemp also both English and Indian, and for English flax and anniseeds, we do require and enjoin

all householders of this colony that have any of those seeds to make trial thereof the next season.

Moreover be it enacted by this present Assembly, that every householder do yearly plant and maintain ten vines until they have attained to the art and experience of dressing a vineyard either by their own industry or by the instruction of some vigneron. And that upon what penalty soever the Governor and Council of Estate shall think fit to impose upon the neglecters of this act.

Be it also enacted that all necessary tradesmen, or so many as need shall require, such as are come over since the departure of Sir Thomas Dale, or that shall hereafter come, shall work at their trades for any other man, each one being paid according to the quality of his trade and work, to be estimated, if he shall not be contented, by the Governor and officers of the place where he works.

Be it further ordained by this General Assembly, and we do by these presents enact, that all contracts made in England between the owners of land and their tenants and servants which they shall send hither, may be caused to be duly performed, and that the offenders be punished as the Governor and Council of Estate shall think just and convenient.

Be it established also by this present Assembly that no crafty or advantageous means be suffered to put in practice for the enticing away the tenants or servants of any particular plantation from the place where they are seated. And that it shall be the duty

of the Governor and Council of Estate most severely to punish both the seducers and the seduced, and to return these latter into their former places. . . .

Tuesday, Aug. 3, 1619.

. . . Captain William Powell presented a petition to the general Assembly against one Thomas Garnett, a servant of his, not only for extreme neglect of his business to the great loss and prejudice of the said Captain, and for openly and impudently abusing his house, . . . but also for falsely accusing him to the Governor both of drunkenness and theft, and besides for bringing all his fellow-servants to testify on his side, wherein they justly failed him. It was thought fit by the general assembly (the Governor himself giving sentence), that he should stand four days with his ears nailed to the pillory, viz: Wednesday, Aug. 4th, and so likewise Thursday, Friday and Saturday next following, and every of those four days should be publicly whipped. Now, as touching the neglect of his work, what satisfaction ought to be made to his master for that is referred to the Governor and Council of Estate.

The same morning the laws above written, drawn out of the instructions, were read, and one by one thoroughly examined, and then passed once again the general consent of the whole Assembly. . . .

Wednesday Aug. 4th.

This day (by reason of extreme heat, both past and likely to ensue, and by that means of the alteration of the healths of diverse of the general Assembly) the Governor, who himself also was not well, resolved should be the last of this first session; so in the morning the Speaker (as he was required by the Assembly) read over all the laws and orders that had formerly passed the house, to give the same yet one review more, and to see whether there were anything to be amended or that might be excepted against. This being done, the third sort of laws which I am now coming to set down, were read over thoroughly discussed, which together with the former, did now pass the last and final consent of the General Assembly.

A third sort of laws, such as may issue out of every man's private conceit.

. . . All ministers in the colony shall once a year, namely, in the month of March, bring to the Secretary of Estate a true account of all christenings, burials and marriages, upon pain, if they fail, to be censured for their negligence by the Governor and Council of Estate; likewise, where there be no ministers, that the commanders of the place do supply the same duty. . . .

All ministers shall duly read divine service, and exercise their ministerial function according to the ecclesiastical laws and orders of the church of Eng-

land, and every Sunday in the afternoon shall catechize such as are not yet ripe to come to the communion. And whosoever of them shall be found negligent or faulty in this kind shall be subject to the censure of the Governor and Council of Estate. . . .

All persons whatsoever upon the Sabbath day shall frequent divine service and sermons both forenoon and afternoon, and all such as bear arms shall bring their pieces, swords, powder and shot. And every one that shall transgress this law shall forfeit three shillings a time to the use of the church, all lawful and necessary impediments excepted. But if a servant in this case shall willfully neglect his master's command he shall suffer bodily punishment.

No maid or woman servant, either now resident in the colony or hereafter to come, shall contract herself in marriage without either the consent of her parents, or of her master or mistress, or of the magistrate and minister of the place both together. And whatsoever minister shall marry or contract any such persons without some of the foresaid consents shall be subject to the severe censure of the Governor and Council of Estate. . . .

In sum Sir George Yeardley, the Governor prorogued the said General Assembly till the first of March, which is to fall out this present year of 1619, and in the mean season dissolved the same.

THE VOYAGE OF THE MAYFLOWER

By Governor William Bradford

WILLIAM BRADFORD was born in 1588 at Austerfield, near Scrooby, the English home of the Pilgrim Fathers. At sixteen years of age he became one of the three guiding spirits of the Pilgrims (Brewster and Robinson were the other two) in their flight from England to Holland and then to America.

Following the death of Governor Carver in 1621 he was elected governor at Plymouth. This office he held with two slight breaks until his death.

The original manuscript of Bradford's "History of Plymouth Plantation," from which this account of the Voyage of the Mayflower is taken, disappeared from the Old South Meeting-house at the time of the British evacuation of Boston. It was discovered in 1855 in the Bishop of London's palace at Fulham, and 42 years later was returned by the English Church authorities, mainly through the efforts of Senator Hoar, and is now in the Massachusetts State library.

AT length, after much travail and these debates, all things were got ready and provided. A small ship was bought, and fitted in Holland, which was intended as to serve to help to transport them, so to stay in the country and attend upon fishing and such other affairs as might be for the good and benefit of the colony when they came there. Another was hired at London, of burden about 9 score; and all other things got in readiness. . . .

Being thus put to sea they had not gone far, but Mr. Reinolds the master

of the lesser ship complained that he found his ship so leaky as he dare not put further to sea till she was mended. So the master of the bigger ship (called Mr. Jones) being consulted with, they both resolved

to put into Dartmouth and have her there searched and mended, which accordingly was done, to their great charge and loss of time and a fair wind. She was here thoroughly searched from stem to stern, some leaks were found and mended, and now it was conceived by the workmen and all, that she was sufficient, and they might proceed without either fear or danger. So with good hopes from hence, they put to sea again, conceiving they should go comfortably on, not looking for any more lets of this kind; but it fell out otherwise, for after they were gone to sea again above 100 leagues without the land's end, holding company together all this while, the master of the small ship complained his ship was so leaky as he must bear up or sink at sea, for they could scarce free her with much pumping. So they came to consultation again, and resolved both ships to bear up back again and put into Plymouth, which accordingly was done. But no special leak could be found, but it was judged to be the general weakness of the ship, and that she would not prove sufficient for the voyage. Upon which it was resolved to dismiss her and part of the company, and proceed with the other ship. . . .

THESE troubles being blown over, and now all being compact together in one ship, they put to sea again with a prosperous wind, which continued diverse days together, which was some encouragement unto them; yet according to the usual manner many were afflicted with sea-sickness. And I may

not omit here a special work of God's providence. There was a proud and very profane young man, one of the sea-men, of a lusty, able body, which made him the more haughty; he would always be contemning the poor people in their sickness and cursing them daily with grievous execrations, and did not let to tell them, that he hoped to help to cast half of them overboard before they came to their journey's end, and to make merry with what they had; and if he were by any gently reprov'd, he would curse and swear most bitterly. But it pleased God before they came half seas over, to smite this young man with a grievous disease, of which he died in a desperate manner, and so was himself the first that was thrown overboard. Thus his curses light on his own head; and it was an astonishment to all his fellows, for they noted it to be the just hand of God upon him. . . .

But to omit other things, (that I may be brief,) after long beating at sea they fall with that land which is called Cape Cod; the which being made and certainly known to be it, they were not a little joyful. After some deliberation had among themselves and with the master of the ship, they tack'd about and resolv'd to stand for the southward (the wind and weather being fair) to find some place about Hudson's river for their habitation. But after they had sailed that course about half the day, they fell among dangerous shoals and roaring breakers, and they were so far entangled therewith as they conceived themselves in great danger; and the wind shrinking upon

them withal, they resolved to bear up again for the Cape, and thought themselves happy to get out of those dangers before night overtook them, as by God's providence they did. And the next day they got into the Cape-harbor where they rode in safety. A word or two by the way of this cape; it was thus first named by Captain Gosnol and his company, Anno Domine: 1602, and after by Captain Smith was called Cape James; but it retains the former name among sea-men. Also that point which first showed those dangerous shoals unto them, they called Point Care, and Tucker's Terror; but the French and Dutch to this day call it Malabarr, by reason of those perilous shoals, and the losses they have suffered there.

Being thus arrived in a good harbor and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees and blessed the God of heaven, who had brought them over the vast and furious ocean, and delivered them from all the perils and miseries thereof, again to set their feet on the firm and stable earth, their proper element. And no marvel if they were thus joyful, seeing wise Seneca was so affected with sailing a few miles on the coast of his own Italy; as he affirmed, that he had rather remain twenty years on his way by land, then pass by sea to any place in a short time; so tedious and dreadful was the same unto him.

But here I cannot but stay and make a pause, and stand half amazed at these poor people's present condition; and so I think will the reader too, when he well considers the same. Being thus passed the vast ocean,

and a sea of troubles before in their preparation (as may be remembered by that which went before), they had now no friends to welcome them, nor inns to entertain or refresh their weatherbeaten bodies, no houses or much less towns to repair to, to seek for succor. It is recorded in scripture as a mercy to the apostle and his shipwrecked company, that the barbarians showed them no small kindness in refreshing them, but these savage barbarians, when they met with them (as after will appear) were readier to fill their sides full of arrows than otherwise. And for the season it was winter, and they that know the winters of that country know them to be sharp and violent, and subject to cruel and fierce storms, dangerous to travel to known places, much more to search an unknown coast. Besides, what could they see but a hideous and desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts and wild men? And what multitudes there might be of them they knew not. Neither could they, as it were, go up to the top of Pisgah, to view from this wilderness a more goodly country to feed their hopes; for which way soever they turned their eyes (save upward to the heavens) they could have little solace or content in respect of any outward objects. For summer being done, all things stand upon them with a weatherbeaten face; and the whole country, full of woods and thickets, represented a wild and savage view. If they looked behind them, there was the mighty ocean which they had passed, and was now as

a main bar and gulf to separate them from all the civil parts of the world. . . .

Being thus arrived at Cape-Cod the 11 of November, and necessity calling them to look out a place for habitation, (as well as the master's and mariners' importunity,) they having brought a large shallop with them out of England, stowed in quarters in the ship, they now got her out and set their carpenters to work to trim her up; but being much bruised and shattered in the ship with foul weather, they saw she would be long in mending. Whereupon a few of them tendered themselves to go by land and discover those nearest places, while the shallop was in mending; and the rather because as they went into that harbor there seemed to be an opening some 2 or 3 leagues off, which the master judged to be a river. It was conceived there might be some danger in the attempt, yet seeing them resolute, they were permitted to go, being 16 of them well armed, under the conduct of Captain Standish, having such instructions given them as was thought meet.

They set forth the 15 of November: and when they had marched about the space of a mile by the sea-side, they espied 5 or 6 persons with a dog coming towards them, who were savages; but they fled from them, and ran up into the woods, and the English followed them, partly to see if they could speak with them, and partly to discover if there might not be more of them lying in ambush. But the Indians seeing themselves thus followed, they again forsook the

woods, and ran away on the sands as hard as they could, so as they could not come near them, but followed them by the track of their feet sundry miles, and saw that they had come the same way. So, night coming on, they made their rendezvous and set out their sentinels, and rested in quiet the night, and the next morning followed their track till they had headed a great creek, and so left the sands, and turned another way into the woods. But they still followed them by guess, hoping to find their dwellings; but they soon lost both them and themselves, falling into such thickets as were ready to tear their clothes and armor in pieces, but were most distressed for want of drink.

But at length they found water and refreshed themselves, being the first New England water they drunk of, and was now in their great thirst as pleasant unto them as wine or beer had been in former times. Afterwards they directed their course to come to the other shore, for they knew it was a neck of land they were to cross over, and so at length got to the seaside, and marched to this supposed river, and by the way found a pond of clear fresh water, and shortly after a good quantity of clear ground where the Indians had formerly set corn, and some of their graves. And proceeding further they saw new stubble where corn had been set the same year, also they found where lately a house had been, where some planks and a great kettle was remaining, and heaps of sand newly paddled with their hands, which they, digging up,

found in them diverse fair Indian baskets filled with corn, and some in ears, fair and good, of diverse colors, which seemed to them a very goodly sight, (having never seen any such before). This was near the place of that supposed river they came to seek; unto which they went and found it to open itself into 2 arms with a high cliff of sand in the entrance, but more like to be creeks of salt water than any fresh, for ought they saw; and that there was good harbor-age for their shallop; leaving it further to be discovered by their shallop when she was ready. So their time limited them being expired, they returned to the ship, least they should be in fear of their safety; and took with them part of the corn, and buried up the rest, and so like the men from Eshcoll carried with them of the fruits of the land, and showed their brethren; of which, and their return, they were marvelously glad, and their hearts encouraged. . . .

The month of November being spent in these affairs, and much foul weather falling in, the 6 of December: they sent out their shallop again with 10 of their principal men, and some seamen, upon further discovery, intending to circulate that deep bay of Cap-Cod. The weather was very cold, and it froze so hard that the spray of the sea lighting on their coats, they were as if they had been glazed; yet that night betimes they got down into the bottom of the bay, and as they drew near the shore they saw some 10 to 12 Indians very busy about something. They landed about a league or 2 from them, and had much

ado to put ashore anywhere, it lay so full of flats. Being landed, it grew late, and they made themselves a barricade with logs and boughs as well as they could in the time, and set out their sentinel and betook them to rest, and saw the smoke of the fire the savages made that night.

When morning was come they divided their company, some to coast along the shore in the boat, and the rest marched through the woods to see the land, if any fit place might be for their dwelling. They came also to the place where they saw the Indians the night before, and found they had been cutting up a great fish like a grampus, being some 2 inches thick of fat like a hog, some pieces whereof they had left by the way; and the shallop found 2 more of these fishes dead on the sands, a thing usual after storms in that place, by reason of the great flats of sand that lie off. So they ranged up and down all that day, but found no people, nor any place they liked. When the sun grew low, they hastened out of the woods to meet with their shallop, to whom they made signs to come to them into a creek hard by, the which they did at highwater; of which they were very glad, for they had not seen each other all that day, since the morning.

So they made them a barricade (as usually they did every night) with logs, stakes, and thick pine boughs, the height of a man, leaving it open to leeward, partly to shelter them from the cold and wind (making their fire in the middle, and lying round

about it), and partly to defend them from any sudden assaults of the savages, if they should surround them. So being very weary, they betook them to rest. . . .

From hence they departed, and coasted all along, but discerned no place likely for harbor; and therefore hastened to a place that their pilot, (one Mr. Coppin who had been in the country before) did assure them was a good harbor, which he had been in, and they might fetch it before night; of which they were glad, for it began to be foul weather. After some hours sailing, it began to snow and rain, and about the middle of the afternoon, the wind increased, and the sea became very rough, and they broke their rudder, and it was as much as 2 men could do to steer her with a couple of oars. But their pilot bade them be of good cheer, for he saw the harbor; but the storm increasing, and night drawing on, they bore what sail they could to get in, while they could see. But here-with they broke their mast in 3 pieces, and their sail fell overboard, in a very grown sea, so as they had like to have been cast away; yet by God's mercy they recovered themselves, and having the flood with them struck into the harbor. But when it came to, the pilot was deceived in the place, and said, the Lord be merciful unto them, for his eyes never saw that place before; and he and the master mate would have run her ashore, in a cove full of breakers, before the wind. But a lusty seaman which steered, bade those which rowed, if they were men, about with her, or else they were all cast away; the which they did with speed.

So he bid them be of good cheer and row lustily, for there was a fair sound before them, and he doubted not but they should find one place or other where they might ride in safety.

And though it was very dark, and rained sore, yet in the end they got under the lee of a small island, and remained there all that night in safety. But they knew not this to be an island till morning, but were divided in their minds; some would keep the boat for fear they might be among the Indians; others were so weak and cold, they could not endure, but got ashore, and with much ado got fire, (all things being so wet,) and the rest were glad to come to them; for after midnight the wind shifted to the north-west, and it froze hard. But though this had been a day and night of much trouble and danger unto them, yet God gave them a morning of comfort and refreshing (as usually he does to his children), for the next day was a fair sunshining day, and they found themselves to be on an island secure from the Indians, where they might dry their stuff, fix their pieces, and rest themselves, and gave God thanks for his mercies, in their manifold deliverances. And this being the last day of the week, they prepared there to keep the Sabbath. On Monday they sounded the harbor, and found it fit for shipping; and marched into the land and found diverse cornfields, and little running brooks, a place (as they supposed) fit for situation; at least it was the best they could find, and the season, and their present necessity, made them glad to accept of it. So they

returned to their ship again with this news to the rest of their people, which did much comfort their hearts.

On the 15 of December: they weighed anchor to go to the place they had discovered, and came within 2 leagues of it, but were fain to bear up again; but the 16 day the wind came fair, and they arrived safe in this harbor. And afterwards took better view of the place, and resolved where to pitch their dwelling; and the 25 day began to erect the first house for common use to receive them and their goods. . . .

THE MAYFLOWER COMPACT

IN THE strict sense this Compact, drawn up in the cabin of the Mayflower, was not a constitution, which is "a document defining and limiting the functions of government." It was, however, the germ of popular government in America.

Governor Bradford makes this reference to the circumstances under which the Compact was drawn up and signed:

"This day, before we came to harbour, observing some not well affected to unity and concord, but gave some appearance of faction, it was thought good there should be an association and agreement, that we should combine together in one body, and to submit to such government and governors as we should by common consent agree to make and choose, and set our hands to this that follows, word for word . . ."

presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony, unto which we

IN THE name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland king, defender of the faith, etc., having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the Northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents solemnly and mutually in the pres-

promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cape-Cod the 11 of November, in the year of the reign of our sovereign lord, King James, of England, France, and Ireland the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth. Anno Domine 1620.

HOW THE PILGRIM FATHERS LIVED

By Governor Edward Winslow

DURING the first terrible winter at Plymouth, Edward Winslow's wife died, and likewise Mrs. Susannah White's husband. Mrs. White not only survived but gave birth to the first white child born in New England, Peregrine White. Two months after Mrs. Winslow's death New England's first wedding took place between Edward Winslow and Susannah White.

Edward Winslow was one of the great men of the Plymouth Colony, and was several times elected Governor. Once on a visit to England he appeared before the Crown Council and argued successfully against any attempt to destroy the self-government of the colony. His best remembered benefit to the colony was to negotiate a treaty with the Indian Chief Massasoit.

This description of living conditions was contained in a letter Winslow wrote soon after the landing from the Mayflower, and gives a vivid first-hand picture of the problems the Pilgrims faced.

ALTHOUGH I received no letter from you by this ship, yet forasmuch as I know you expect the performance of my promise, which was, to write unto you truly and faithfully of all things, I have therefore at this time sent unto you accordingly, referring you for further satisfaction to our more large relations.

You shall understand that in this little time a few of us have been here, we have built seven dwelling-houses and four for the use of the plantation, and have made preparation for divers others. We set last spring some twenty acres of In-

dian corn, and sowed some six acres of barley and peas; and according to the manner of the Indians, we manured our ground with herrings, or rather

shads, which we have in great abundance, and take with great ease at our doors. Our corn did prove well; and, God be praised, we had a good increase of Indian corn, and our barley indifferent good, but our peas not worth the gathering, for we feared they were too late sown. They came up very well, and blossomed; but the sun parched them in the blossom.

Our harvest being gotten in, our governor sent four men on fowling, that so we might, after a special manner, rejoice together after we had gathered the fruit of our labors. They four in one day killed as much fowl as, with a little help beside, served the company almost a week. At which time, among other recreations, we exercised our arms, many of the Indians coming among us, and among the rest their greatest king, Massasoit, with some ninety men, whom for three days we entertained and feasted; and they went out and killed five deer, which they brought to the plantation, and bestowed on our governor, and upon the captain and others. And although it be not always so plentiful as it was at this time with us, yet by the goodness of God we are so far from want, that we often wish you partakers of our plenty.

We have found the Indians very faithful in their covenant of peace with us, very loving, and ready to pleasure us. We often go to them, and they come to us. Some of us have been fifty miles by land in the country with them, the occasions and relations whereof you shall understand by our general and more full declaration of such things as are worth the

noting. Yea, it has pleased God so to possess the Indians with a fear of us and love unto us, that not only the greatest king among them, called Massasoit, but also all the princes and peoples round about us, have either made suit unto us, or been glad of any occasion to make peace with us; so that seven of them at once have sent their messengers to us to that end. Yea, an isle at sea, which we never saw, hath also, together with the former, yielded willingly to be under the protection and subject to our sovereign lord King James. So that there is now great peace amongst the Indians themselves, which was not formerly, neither would have been but for us; and we, for our parts, walk as peaceably and safely in the wood as in the highways in England. We entertain them familiarly in our houses, and they as friendly bestowing their venison on us. They are a people without any religion or knowledge of any God, yet very trusty, quick of apprehension, ripe-witted, just. . . .

For the temper of the air here, it agrees well with that in England; and if there be any difference at all, this is somewhat hotter in summer. Some think it to be colder in winter; but I cannot out of experience so say. The air is very clear, and not foggy, as has been reported. I never in my life remember a more seasonable year than we have here enjoyed; and if we have once but kine, horses, and sheep, I make no question but men might live as contented here as in any part of the world. For fish and fowl,

we have great abundance. Fresh cod in the summer is but coarse meat with us. Our bay is full of lobsters all the summer, and affords a variety of other fish. In September we can take a hogshead of eels in a night, with small labor, and can dig them out of their beds all the winter. We have muscles and othus [others?] at our doors. Oysters we have none near, but we can have them brought by the Indians when we will. All the spring-time the earth sends forth naturally very good salad herbs. Here are grapes, white and red, and very sweet and strong also; strawberries, gooseberries, raspberries, etc.; plums of three sorts, white, black, and red, being almost as good as a damson; abundance of roses, white, red and damask; single, but very sweet indeed. The country wants only industrious men to employ; for it would grieve your hearts if, as I, you had seen so many miles together by goodly rivers uninhabited; and withal, to consider those parts of the world wherein you live to be even greatly burdened with abundance of people. These things I thought good to let you understand, being the truth of things as near as I could experimentally take knowledge of, and that you might on our behalf give God thanks, who hath dealt so favorably with us.

Our supply of men from you came the 9th of November, 1621, putting in at Cape Cod, some eight or ten leagues from us. The Indians that dwell thereabout were they who were owners of the corn which we found in caves, for which we have given them full

content, and are in great league with them. They sent us word there was a ship near unto them, but thought it to be a Frenchman; and indeed for ourselves we expected not a friend so soon. But when we perceived that she made for our bay, the governor commanded a great piece to be shot off, to call home such as were abroad at work. Whereupon every man, yea boy, that could handle a gun, were ready, with full resolution that, if she were an enemy, we would stand in our just defense, not fearing them. But God provided better for us than we supposed. These came all in health, not any being sick by the way, otherwise than by sea-sickness, and so continue at this time, by the blessing of God. . . .

When it pleased God we are settled and fitted for the fishing business and other trading, I doubt not but by the blessing of God the gain will give content to all. In the meantime, that we have gotten we have sent by this ship; and though it be not much, yet it will witness for us that we have not been idle, considering the smallness of our number all this summer. We hope the merchants will accept of it, and be encouraged to furnish us with things needful for further employment, which will also encourage us to put forth ourselves to the uttermost.

Now because I expect your coming unto us, with other of our friends, whose company we much desire, I thought good to advertise you of a few things needful. Be careful to have a very good bread-room to put your biscuits in. Let your cask for beer and

water be iron-bound, for the first tire, if not more. Let not your meat be dry-salted; none can better do it than the sailors. Let your meal be so hard trod in your cask that you shall need an adz or hatchet to work it out with. Trust not too much on us for corn at this time, for by reason of this last company that came, depending wholly upon us, we shall have little enough till harvest. Be careful to come by some of your meal to spend by the way; it will much refresh you. Build your cabins as open as you can, and bring good store of clothes and bedding with you. Bring every man a musket or fowling-piece. Let your piece be long in the barrel, and fear not the weight of it, for most of our shooting is from stands. Bring juice of lemons, and take it fasting; it is of good use. For hot waters, aniseed water is the best; but use it sparingly. If you bring anything for comfort in the country, butter or salad oil, or both, is very good. Our Indian corn, even the coarsest, makes as pleasant meat as rice; therefore spare that, unless to spend by the way. Bring paper and linseed oil for your windows, with cotton yarn for your lamps. Let your shot be most for big fowls, and bring store of powder and shot. I forbear further to write for the present, hoping to see you by the next return. So I take my leave, commending you to the Lord for a safe conduct unto us, resting in him,

Your loving friend,

E. W.

FOUNDING OF NEW AMSTERDAM

By Nicholas Jean de Wassenæer

WASSENÆER was a Dutch historian. In his "Description of the First Settlement of New Netherland" he gives an account of the events that took place during his own lifetime.

Following the voyages of Sir Henry Hudson, the Dutch began trading with the natives and established a temporary trading post on the extreme southern end of Manhattan Island. As their trade flourished it became so profitable that the West India Company sent over a colony of thirty families, which located near the present site of Albany. This was in 1623. Two years later they decided upon a permanent colony on Manhattan Island and other settlers came over and settled there.

well as their desire to plant other lands, allowed the West India Company to settle that same country. Many from the United Colonies did formerly and do still trade there; . . .

Those who come from the interior, yea thirty days' journey, declare there is considerable water everywhere and that the upper country is marshy; they make mention of great freshets which lay waste their lands; so that what many say may be true, that Hudson's Bay runs through to the South Sea, and is

NUMEROUS voy-
ages realize so much profit for adventurers that they discover other countries, which they afterwards settle and plant. Virginia, a country lying in $42\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, is one of these. It was first peopled by the French; afterwards by the English, and is to-day a flourishing colony. The Lords States General observing the great abundance of their people as

navigable, except when obstructed by the ice to the northward. . . .

We treated in our preceding discourse of the discovery of some rivers in Virginia; the studious reader will learn how affairs proceeded. The West India Company being chartered to navigate these rivers, did not neglect so to do, but equipped in the spring [of 1623] a vessel of 130 lasts, called the New Netherland whereof Cornelis Jacobs of Hoorn was skipper, with 30 families, mostly Walloons, to plant a colony there. They sailed in the beginning of March, and directing their course by the Canary Islands, steered towards the wild coast, and gained the westwind which luckily (took) them in the beginning of May into the river called, first Rio de Montagnes, now the river Mauriti^{us}, lying in $40\frac{1}{2}$ degrees. He found a Frenchman lying in the mouth of the river, who would erect the arms of the King of France there; but the Hollanders would not permit him, opposing it by commission from the Lords States General and the directors of the West India Company; and in order not to be frustrated therein, with the assistance of those of the Mackerel which lay above, they caused a yacht of 2 guns to be manned, and convoyed the Frenchman out of the river, who would do the same thing in the south river, but he was also perverted by the settlers there.

This being done, the ship sailed up to the Maykans, 44 miles, near which they built and completed a fort named "Orange" with 4 bastions, on an island, by them called Castle Island. . . .

Respecting these colonies, they have already a prosperous beginning; and the hope is that they will not fall through provided they be zealously sustained, not only in that place but in the South river. For their increase and prosperous advancement, it is highly necessary that those sent out be first of all well provided with means both of support and defense, and that being freemen, they be settled there on a free tenure; that all they work for and gain be theirs to dispose of and to sell it according to their pleasure; that whoever is placed over them as commander act as their father not as their executioner, leading them with a gentle hand; for whoever rules them as a friend and associate will be beloved by them, as he who will order them as a superior will subvert and nullify everything; yea, they will excite against him the neighboring provinces to which they will fly. 'Tis better to rule by love and friendship than by force. . . .

As the country is well adapted for agriculture and the raising of everything that is produced here, the aforesaid Lords resolved to take advantage of the circumstances, and to provide the place with many necessaries, through the Honorable Pieter Evertsen Hulst, who undertook to ship thither, at his risk, whatever was requisite, to wit; one hundred and three head of cattle; stallions, mares, steers and cows, for breeding and multiplying, besides all the hogs and sheep that might be thought expedient to send thither; and to distribute these in two ships of one hundred

and forty lasts, in such a manner that they should be well foddered and attended to. . . .

In company with these, goes a fast sailing vessel at the risk of the directors. In these aforesaid vessels also go six complete families with some freemen, so that forty-five newcomers or inhabitants are taken out, to remain there. The natives of New Netherland are very well disposed so long as no injury is done them. But if any wrong be committed against them they think it long till they be revenged. . . .

They are a wicked, bad people, very fierce in arms. Their dogs are small. When the Honorable Lambricht van Twenhuyzen, once a skipper, had given them a big dog, and it was presented to them on ship-board, they were very much afraid of it; calling it, also, a Sachem of dogs, being the biggest. The dog, tied with a rope on board, was very furious against them, they being clad like beasts with skins, for he thought they were game; but when they gave him some of their bread made of Indian corn, which grows there, he learned to distinguish them, that they were men. . . .

The Colony was planted at this time, on the Manhates where a Fort was staked out by Master Kryn Frederycke an engineer. It will be of large dimensions. . . .

The government over the people of New Netherland continued on the 19th of August of this year in the aforesaid Minuit, successor to Verhulst, who went thither from Holland on 9th January, 1626, and took

up his residence in the midst of a nation called Man-hates, building a fort there, to be called Amsterdam, having four points and faced outside entirely with stone, as the walls of sand fall down, and are now more compact. The population consists of two hundred and seventy souls, including men, women, and children. They remained as yet without the fort, in no fear, as the natives live peaceably with them. They are situate three miles from the Sea, on the river by us called Mauritius, by others, Rio de Montagne. . . .

After the Right Honorable Lords Directors of the privileged West India Company in the United Netherlands, had provided for the defense of New Netherland and put everything there in good order, they taking into consideration the advantages of said place, the favorable nature of the air, and soil, and that considerable trade and goods and many commodities may be obtained from thence, sent some persons, of their own accord, thither with all sorts of cattle and implements necessary for agriculture, so that in the year 1628 there already resided on the island of the Man-hates, two hundred and seventy souls, men, women, and children, under Governor Minuit, Verhulst's successor, living there in peace with the natives. But as the land, in many places being full of weeds and wild productions, could not be properly cultivated in consequence of the scantiness of the population, the said Lords Directors of the West India Company, the better to people their lands, and to bring the country to produce more abundantly, resolved to grant divers

privileges, freedoms, and exemptions to all patroons, masters or individuals who should plant any colonies and cattle in New Netherland, and they accordingly have constituted and published in print (certain) exemptions, to afford better encouragement and infuse greater zeal into whomsoever should be inclined to reside and plant his colony in New Netherland.

THE SETTLEMENT OF MASSACHUSETTS

By Captain Edward Johnson

CAPTAIN JOHNSON, who came to Massachusetts Bay in 1630 with Governor Winthrop, and founded the town of Woburn, was a typical Puritan farmer-colonist, pious, brave and fond of recording current events. For twenty-eight years, from 1643 to 1671, he represented the town in the General Court, and served on many important committees.

His history of the settlement of Massachusetts is best known under its sub-title, "*The Wonder-working Providence of Zion's Savior*," published anonymously in London in 1654. It is valuable as a minute record of civil and ecclesiastical procedure in the Bay Colony, and has been incorporated in the *Massachusetts Historical Collection*.

multitude of irreligious, lascivious and popish affected persons spread the whole land like grasshoppers, in this very time Christ the glorious King of his churches, raises an army out of our English nation, for freeing his people from their long servitude under usurping prelacy; and because every corner of England was filled with the fury of malignant adversaries, Christ creates a new England to muster up the first of his forces in; whose low condition, little number, and

WHEN England began to decline in religion, like lukewarm Laodicea, and instead of purging out popery, a farther compliance was sought, not only in vain, idolatrous ceremonies, but also in profaning the Sabbath, and by proclamation throughout their parish churches, exasperating lewd and profane persons to celebrate a Sabbath like the heathen to Venus, Bacchus and Ceres; insomuch that the

remoteness of place made these adversaries triumph, despising this day of small things, but in this height of their pride the Lord Christ brought sudden, and unexpected destruction upon them. Thus have you a touch of the time when this work began.

Christ Jesus intending to manifest His kingly office toward His churches more fully than ever yet the sons of men saw, . . . stirs up His servants as the heralds of a King to make this proclamation for volunteers as follows.

"Oyez! Oyez! Oyez! All you the people of Christ that are here oppressed, imprisoned and scurrilously derided, gather yourselves together, your wives and little ones, and answer to your several names as you shall be shipped for His service, in the western world, and more especially for planting the united colonies of New England; Where you are to attend the service of the King of Kings, upon the divulging of this proclamation by his heralds at arms." . . .

This proclamation being audibly published through the isle of Great Britain by sundry heralds, which Christ had prepared for that end: the rumor ran through cities, towns and villages; when those that were opposites heard it, some cried one thing, and some another, . . .

The place picked out by this people to settle themselves in, was in the bosom of the outstretched arm of Cape Anne, now called Gloucester, but at the place of their abode they began to build a town, which is

called Salem, after some little space of time having made trial of the sordid spirits of the neighboring Indians, the most bold among them began to gather to divers places, which they began to take up for their own, those that were sent over servants, having itching desires after novelties, found a readier way to make an end of their master's provision, than they could find means to get more; they that came over their own men had but little left to feed on, and most began to repent when their strong beer and full cups ran as small as water in a large land, but little corn, and the poor Indians so far from relieving them, that they were forced to lengthen out their own food with acorns, and that which added to their present distracted thoughts, the ditch between England and their now place of abode was so wide, that they could not leap over with a lope-staff, yet some delighting their eye with the rarity of things present, and feeding their fancies with new discoveries at the spring's approach, they made shift to rub out the winter's cold by the fireside, having fuel enough growing at their very doors, turning down many a drop of the bottle, and burning tobacco with all the ease they could, discoursing between times, of the great progress they would make after the summer's sun had changed the earth's white furred gown into a green mantle. . . .

This year 1629 came over three godly ministers of Christ Jesus, intending to show His power in His people's lowest condition as His manner is, thereby to strengthen their faith in following difficulties, and

now although the number of the faithful people of Christ were but few, yet their longing desires to gather into a church were very great; . . . Wherefore they elected and ordained one Mr. Higginson to be teacher of this first church of Christ. . . .

AND now behold the several regiments of these soldiers of Christ, as they are shipped for His service in the western world, part thereof being come to the town and port of Southampton in England, where they were to be shipped, that they might prosecute this design to the full, one ship called the Eagle, they wholly purchase, and many more they hire, filling them with the seed of man and beast to sow this yet untilled wilderness withal, making sale of such land as they possess, to the great admiration of their friends and acquaintance, . . .

But to go on with the story, the 12th of July or thereabout 1630 these soldiers of Christ first set foot on this western end of the world; where arriving in safety, both men, women and children. On the north side of Charles River, they landed near a small island, called Noddell's Island, where one Mr. Samuel Mave-reck then living, a man of a very loving and courteous behavior, very ready to entertain strangers, yet an enemy to the reformation in hand, being strong for the lordly prelatical power on this island, he had built a small fort with the help of one Mr. David Tompson, placing therein four murderers to protect him from the Indians. About one mile distant upon the river

ran a small creek, taking its name from Major General Edward Gibbons, who dwelt there for some years after; On the south side of the river on a point of land called Blaxton's Point, planted Mr. William Blaxton; to the south-east of him, near an island called Thompson's Island lived some few planters more, these persons were the first planters of those parts, having some small trading with the Indians for beaver skins, which moved them to make their abode in those parts, whom these first troops of Christ's army found as fit helps to further their work. At their arrival those small number of Christians gathered at Salem, greatly rejoicing and the more, because they saw so many that came chiefly for promoting the great work of Christ in hand, the Lady Arrabella and some other godly women abode at Salem, but their husbands continued at Charlestown, both for the settling the civil government, and gathering another church of Christ.

The first court was held aboard the Arrabella the 23rd of August. When the much honored John Winthrop Esq. was chosen Governor for the remainder of that year, 1630. Also the worthy Thomas Dudley Esq. was chosen Deputy Governor, and Mr. Simon Bradstreet Secretary, the people after their long voyage were many of them troubled with the scurvy, and some of them died: the first station they took up was at Charlestown, where they pitched some tents of cloth, other built them small huts, in which they lodged their wives and children. The first beginning of this work seemed very dolorous; . . .

LORD BALTIMORE'S PLANTATION IN MARYLAND

GEORGE CALVERT, first Lord Baltimore, was a member of the Virginia Company, and counselor to the New England Company. A year after the pilgrims landed at Plymouth, he sent a colony to Newfoundland, and seven years later came over with his family, but decided that the Newfoundland venture was a failure.

He returned to England and obtained from Charles I a grant of land on the Potomac, which he named Maryland in honor of Charles' Queen, Henrietta Maria. Before the King's Seal could be attached to the Maryland charter, Lord Baltimore died, and the grant was made out to his son, Cecil, who founded St. Mary's.

The present account, taken from letters "of some of the adventurers to their friends in England," was doubtless written by Cecil Calvert's brothers, Leonard and George, who accompanied the expedition. Published in London in 1634, these letters are profoundly interesting as first impressions of a new country.

The natives of these parts were in preparation of defense, by reason of a rumor somebody had raised among them, of six ships that were come with a power of

ON Friday the 22 of November 1633, a small gale of wind coming gently from the northwest, weighed from the Cowes, in the Isle of Wight, about ten in the morning; and (having stayed by the way twenty days at the Barbadoes, and fourteen days at St. Christophers, upon some necessary occasions,) we arrived at Point-Comfort in Virginia, on the 24 of February following, the Lord be praised for it. At this time one Captain Claybourn was come from parts where we intended to plant, to Virginia, and from him we understood, that all the

Spaniards, whose meaning was to drive all the inhabitants out of the country.

We had good letters from his Majesty to the Governor and Council of Virginia, which made him favor us and show us as noble usage as the place afforded, with promise, that for their cattle and hogs, corn and poultry, our plantation should not want the open way to furnish ourselves from thence: He told us likewise, that when his lordship should be resolved on a convenient place to make himself a seat, he should be able to provide him with as much brick and tile as he should have occasion to employ, until his lordship had made of his own: Also, that he had to furnish his lordship with two or three hundred stocks ready grafted with pears, apples, plums, apricots, figs, and peaches, and some cherries: That he had also some orange and lemon trees in the grounds which yet thrived; Also filberts, hazelnuts and almonds; and in one place of the colony, quince trees, wherewith he could furnish his lordship; and, in fine, that his lordship should not want anything that colony had.

On the 3 of March we came into Chesapeake Bay, and made sail to the north of Patomac river, the bay running between two sweet lands in the channel of 7, 8 and 9 fathoms deep, 10 leagues broad, and full of fish at the time of the year; It is one of the delightfulest waters I ever saw, except Patomac, which we named St. Gregory's. And now being in our own country, we began to give names to places, and called

the southern point, Cape Saint Gregory; and the northerly point, Saint Michael's.

This river, of all I know, is the greatest and sweetest, much broader than the Thames; so pleasant, as I for my part, was never satisfied in beholding it. Few marshes or swamps, but the greatest part solid good earth, with great curiosity of woods which are not choked up with under-shrubs, but set commonly one from the other in such distance, as a coach and four horses may easily travel through them.

At the first appearance of the ship on the river, we found (as was foretold us) all the country in arms. The King of the Paschattowayes had drawn together 1500 bowmen, which we ourselves saw, the woods were fired in manner of beacons the night after; and for that our vessel was the greatest that ever those Indians saw, the scouts reported we came in a canoe, as big as an island, and had as many men as there be trees in the woods.

We sailed up the river till we came to Heron islands, so called from the infinite swarms of that fowl there. The first of those islands we called Saint Clement's: The second Saint Katharine's; And the third, Saint Cicily's. We took land first in Saint Clement's, which is compassed about with a shallow water, and admits no access without wading; here by the overturning of the shallop, the maids which had been washing at the land were almost drowned, beside the loss of much linen, and among the rest, I lost the best of mine which is a very main loss in these parts. The

ground is covered thick with pokickeries (which is a wild walnut very hard and thick of shell; but the meat (though little) is passing sweet,) with black walnuts, and acorns bigger than ours. It abounds with vines and salads, herbs and flowers, full of cedar and sassafras. It is but 400 acres big, and therefore too little for us to settle upon.

Here we went to a place, where a large tree was made into a cross; and taking it on our shoulders, we carried it to the place appointed for it. The Governor and commissioners putting their hands first unto it, then the rest of the chiefest adventurers. At the place prepared we all kneeled down, and said certain prayers; taking possession of the country for our Saviour, and for our sovereign lord the King of England.

Here our Governor had good advice given him, not to land for good and all, before he had been with the Emperor of Paschattoway, and had declared unto him the cause of our coming: Which was first to learn them a divine doctrine, which would lead their souls to a place of happiness after this life were ended; And also, to enrich them with such ornaments of a civil life wherewith our country does abound: and this Emperor being satisfied, none of the inferior kings would stir. In conformity to this advice, he took two pinnaces, his own, and another hired in Virginia; and leaving the ship before Saint Clement's at anchor, went up the river and landing on the south side, and finding the Indians fled for fear, came to Patomac

Town, when the King being a child, Archihau his uncle governed both him and his country for him. He gave all the company good welcome: and one of the company having entered into a little discourse with him touching the errors of their religion, he seemed well pleased therewith; and at his going away desired him to return unto him again, telling him he should live at his table, his men should hunt for him, and he would divide all with him. . . .

Our town we call Saint Marie's; and to avoid all just occasion of offense, and color of wrong, we bought of the king for hatchets, axes, hoes, and clothes, a quantity of some 30 miles of land, which we call Augusta Carolina; And that which made them the more willing to sell it, was the wars they had with the Susquehannock, a mighty bordering nation, who came often into their country, to waste and destroy; and forced many of them to leave their country, and pass over Patomac to free themselves from peril before we came. God no doubt disposing all this for them, who were to bring his law and light among the infidels. Yet, seeing we came so well prepared with arms, their fear was much less, and they could be content to dwell by us: Yet do they daily relinquish their houses, lands, and cornfields, and leave them to us. Is not this a piece of wonder that a nation, which a few days before was in arms with the rest against us, should yield themselves now unto us like lambs, and give us their houses, land and livings, for a trifle? *Digitus Dei est hic*: and surely

some great good is intended by God to his nation.

We had not been long time seated there, ere Sir John Harvey, Governor of Virginia, did our Governor the honor (in most friendly manner) to visit him: and during the time of his being there, the King of Patuxunt also came to visit us; and being come aboard the Ark, and brought into the great cabin, and seated between the two Governors (Captain Fleete and Master Golding the interpreters being present) he began his speech as follows:

"When I heard that a great werowance of the English was come to Yoacomoco, I had a great desire to see him. But when I heard the werowance of Pasbiehaye was come thither also to visit him, I presently start up, and without further counsel, came to see them both."

In the time of his stay at Saint Mairie's, we kept the solemnity of carrying our colors on shore: and the king of Patuxunt accompanying us, was much taken with the ceremony. But the same night (he and Captain Fleete being at the Indian house) the Ark's great guns, to honor the day, spoke aloud; which the king of Patuxunt with great admiration hearing, counseled his friends the Yoacomoco Indians to be careful that they break not their peace with us; and said:

"When we shoot, our bow-strings give a twang that's heard but a little way off: But do you not hear what cracks their bow-strings give?" Many such pretty sayings he used in the time of his being with

us, and at his departure, he thus expressed his extraordinary affection unto us:

"I do love the English so well, that if they should kill me, so that they left me with so much breath, as to speak unto my people, I would commend them not to revenge my death."

As for the natives they are proper tall men of person; swarthy by nature but much more by art: painting themselves with colors in oil, like a dark red, which they do to keep the gnats off: wherein I confess, there is more ease than comeliness.

As for their faces, they have other colors at times, as blue from the nose upward, and red downward, and some time contrariwise in great variety, and in very ghastly manner; sometimes they have no beards till they come to be very old, and therefore draw from each side of their mouths, lines to their very ears, to represent a beard; and this sometimes of one color, and sometimes of another.

They wear their hair generally very long, and it is as black as jet: which they bring up in a knot to the left ear, and tie it about with a large string of wampameg, or roanoke, or some other of the best jewels among them. Upon their forehead, some use to wear a fish of copper, and some wear other figures.

About their necks, they use to wear many bugle chains, though these begin now not to be esteemed among them for truck. Their apparel generally is deer-skin, and some fur, which they wear like loose mantles: yet under this about their middle, all women

and men, at man's estate, wear Perizomata (or round aprons) of skins, which keeps them decently covered, that without any offense to chaste eyes, we may converse with them.

All the rest of their bodies are naked, and at times, some of the youngest sort both of men and women have just nothing to cover them. Their feet are as hard as any horn, when they run over prickles and thornes they feel it not. Their arms is a bow, with a bunch of arrows, of a yard long, furnished with three feathers at the top; and pointed either with the point of a deer's horn, or a sharp three-cornered white flint; the rest is a small cane, or straight stick. They are so expert at these, that I have once seen one, a good distance off, strike a very small bird through the middle: and they used to cast a thing up from hand, and before it came to the ground to meet it with a shaft. Their bows are but weak, and carry not level very far; yet these are their livelihood, and every day they are abroad after squirrels, partridges, turkeys, deer, and the like game; whereof there is a wonderful plenty; though we dare not yet be so bold ourselves, as to fetch fresh meat by this means far off.

The Indian houses are all built here in a long half oval; nine or ten foot high to the middle top, where (as in ancient temples) the light is admitted by a window, half a yard square; which window is also the chimney, which gives passage to the smoke, the fire being made in the middle of the floor (as in our old halls of England) and about it they use to lie.

Save only that their kings and great men have their cabins, and a bed of skins well dressed (wherein they are excellent) set on boards and four stakes driven into the ground. And now at this present, many of us live in these Witchotts (as they term them) conveniently enough till better be set up: But they are dressed up something better than when the Indians had them.

The natural wit of this nation is good and quick, and will conceive a thing very readily: they excel in smell and taste, and have far sharper sight than we. Their ordinary diet is pone and hominy, both made of corn, to which they add at times, fish, fowl, and venison.

They are of great temperance, especially from hot waters or wine, which they are hardly brought to taste, save only whom the English have corrupted with their own vices.

For modesty, I must confess, I never saw from man or woman, any action tending to levity; and yet daily the poor souls are here in our houses, and take content to be with us, bringing sometimes turkeys, sometimes squirrels as big as English rabbits, but much more dainty; at other times fine white cakes, partridges, oysters ready boiled and stewed: and do run unto us with smiling countenance when they see us, and will fish and hunt for us, if we will; and all this with intercourse of very few words, but we have hitherto gathered their meaning by signs.

It is lawful among them to have more wives than one: but all keep the rigor of conjugal faith unto their husbands. The women's aspect is modest and grave.

Generally the nation is so noble, that you cannot do them any favor or good turns but they return it. There is small passion among them, but they weigh all with a calm and quiet reason. And to do this the better, in great affairs they are studying in a long silence what is best to be said or done: And then they answer yea or no, in two words: And stand constantly to their resolution. . . .

We have planted since we came, as much maize (or Indian wheat) as will suffice (if God prosper it) much more company than we have. It is up about knee high above ground already, and we expect return of 1000 for one, as we have reason for our hope, from the experience of the yield in other parts of this country, as is very credibly related to us.

We have also English peas, and French beans, cotton, oranges, lemons, quinces, apples, pears, potatoes, and sugar-cane of our own planting, beside hortage coming up very finely.

But such is the quantity of vines and grapes now already upon them (though young) as I daresay if we had vessels and skill, we might make many a ton of wine, even from about our plantation; and such wine, as those of Virginia say (for yet we can say nothing) as is as good as the wine of Spain. I fear they exceed; but surely very good. The clime of this country is near the same with Seville and Cordova;

lying between 38 and 40 degrees of northerly latitude.

Of hogs we have already got from Achomack (a plantation in Virginia) to the number of 100, and more: and some 30 cows; and more we expect daily, with goats and hens; our horses and sheep we must have out of England, or some other place by the way, for we can have none in Virginia.

For the commodities, I will speak more when I see further; only we have sent over a good quantity of iron-stone, for a trial, which, if it prove well, the place is likely to yield infinite store of it. And for that flax and hemp which we have sowed, it comes up, and we hope will thrive exceedingly well: I end with the soil, which is excellent, covered with store of large strawberries, raspberries, vines, sassafras, walnuts, acorns, and the like: and this in the wildest woods too.

The mold is black, a foot deep, and then comes after a red earth. All is high wood, but in the Indian fields, which are some parcels of ground cleared for corn. It abounds with good springs, which is our drink. Of beasts; I have seen deer, raccoons, and squirrels, beside which there are many others, which I have not yet seen. Of birds diversely feathered there are infinite; eagles, bitterns, herons, swans, geese, partridge, ducks, red, blue, partly-colored birds, and the like. By all which it appears, the country abounds not only with profit but with pleasure. And to say truth, there wants nothing for the perfecting of this hopeful plantation; but greater numbers of our countrymen to enjoy it.

THE PEQUOT MASSACRE AT FORT MYSTIC

By Captain John Mason

THE Pequot Indians, numbering some three thousand and inhabiting Connecticut and Rhode Island, murdered an English trader named John Oldham, who had maltreated them, and subsequently scalped seven members of an armed force sent against them to demand retribution. This "outrage," as the English regarded it, so enraged the colonists that the extermination of the Pequots was decided upon.

Influenced by Roger Williams, the neighboring tribes pledged their neutrality, and the Pequots, left to fight alone, fortified themselves near the Mystic River. Against them was sent a force of Connecticut colonists under Captain Mason, who gives this account of the massacre in the third person.

The fort was stormed and the tribe was virtually destroyed. After this exploit Captain Mason became Deputy Governor of Connecticut and long presided as Chief Judge of the colony.

great hill, supposing the fort was not far off, a campaign country being round about us, then making a stand, gave the word for some of the Indians to come up. At length Onkos and one Wequash appeared.

AFTER a march of some eighteen to twenty miles (along Narragansett Bay) we camped with our Indian allies for the night. Purposing to make our assault before day, we roused early, and briefly commended ourselves and design to God, thinking immediately to go to the assault; the Indians showing us a path, told us that it led directly to the fort. We held on our march about two miles, wondering that we came not to the fort, and fearing we might be deluded. But seeing corn newly planted at the foot of a

We demanded of them, "Where is the fort?" They answered, "On the top of that hill." Then we demanded, "Where are the rest of the Indians?" They answered, "Behind, exceedingly afraid." We wished them to tell the rest of their fellows that they should by no means fly, but stand at what distance they pleased, and see whether Englishmen would now fight or not.

Then Captain Underhill came up, who marched in the rear; and commending ourselves to God, divided our men, there being two entrances into the fort, intending to enter both at once; Captain Mason leading up to that on the north-east side, who approaching within one rod, heard a dog bark and an Indian crying "Owanux! Owanux!" which is "Englishmen! Englishmen!" We called up our forces with all expedition, gave fire upon them through the palisado; the Indians being in a dead, indeed their last sleep. Then we wheeling off fell upon the main entrance, which was blocked up with bushes about breast high, over which the captain passed, intending to make good the entrance, encouraging the rest to follow. Lieutenant Seeley endeavored to enter; but being somewhat cumbered, stepped back and pulled out the bushes and so entered, and with him about about sixteen men. We had formerly concluded to destroy them by the sword and save the plunder.

Whereupon Captain Mason seeing no Indians, entered a wigwam; where he was beset with many Indians, waiting all opportunities to lay hands on

him, but could not prevail. At length William Heydon espying the breach in the wigwam, supposing some English might be there, entered; but in his entrance fell over a dead Indian; but speedily recovering himself, the Indians some fled, others crept under their beds. The captain going out of the wigwam saw many Indians in the lane or street; he making towards them, they fled, were pursued to the end of the lane, where they were met by Edward Pattison, Thomas Barber, with some others; where seven of them were slain, as they said. The captain facing about, marched a slow pace up the lane he came down, perceiving himself very much out of breath; and coming to the other end near the place where he first entered, saw two soldiers standing close to the palisado with their swords pointed to the ground. The captain told them that we should never kill them after that manner. The captain also said, "We must burn them"; and immediately stepping into the wigwam where he had been before, brought out a fire-brand, and putting it into the mats with which they were covered, set the wigwams on fire. Lieutenant Thomas Bull and Nicholas Omsted beholding, came up; and when it was thoroughly kindled, the Indians ran as men most dreadfully amazed.

And indeed such a dreadful terror did the Almighty let fall upon their spirits, that they would fly from us and run into the very flames, where many of them perished. And when the fort was thoroughly fired,

command was given, that all should fall off and surround the fort; which was readily attended by all; only one Arthur Smith being so wounded that he could not move out of the place, who was happily espied by Lieutenant Bull, and by him rescued.

The fire was kindled on the north-east side to windward; which did swiftly overrun the fort, to the extreme amazement of the enemy, and great rejoicing of ourselves. Some of them climbing to the top of the palisado; others of them running into the very flames; many of them gathering to windward, lay pelting at us with their arrows; and we repaid them with our small shot. Others of the stoutest issued forth, as we did guess, to the number of forty, who perished by the sword. . . .

What I have formerly said, is according to my own knowledge, there being sufficient living testimony to every particular.

But in reference to Captain Underhill and his parties acting in this assault, I can only intimate as we were informed by some of themselves immediately after the fight. Thus they marching up to the entrance on the south-west side, there made some pause; a valiant, resolute gentleman, one Mr. Hedge, stepping towards the gate, saying, "If we may not enter, wherefore came we here," and immediately endeavored to enter; but was opposed by a sturdy Indian which did impede his entrance; but the Indian being slain by himself and Sergeant Davis, Mr. Hedge entered the fort with some others; but the fort being on fire, the smoke and

flames were so violent that they were constrained to desert the fort.

Thus were they now at their wits' end, who not many hours before exalted themselves in their great pride, threatening and resolving the utter ruin and destruction of all the English, exulting and rejoicing with songs and dances. But God was above them, who laughed his enemies and the enemies of his people to scorn, making them as a fiery oven. Thus were the stout-hearted spoiled, having slept their last sleep, and none of their men could find their hands. Thus did the Lord judge among the heathen, filling the place with dead bodies!

And here we may see the just judgment of God, in sending even the very night before this assault, one hundred and fifty men from their other fort, to join with them of that place, who were designed as some of themselves reported to go forth against the English, at that very instant when this heavy stroke came upon them, where they perished with their fellows. So that the mischief they intended to us, came upon their own pate. They were taken in their own snare, and we through mercy escaped. And thus in little more than one hour's space was their impregnable fort with themselves utterly destroyed, to the number of six or seven hundred, as some of themselves confessed. There were only seven taken captive, and about seven escaped.

Of the English, there were two slain outright, and about twenty wounded. Some fainted by reason of

the sharpness of the weather, it being a cool morning, and the want of such comforts and necessaries as were needful in such a case; especially our surgeon was much wanting, whom we left with our barks in Narragansett Bay, who had order there to remain until the night before our intended assault.

And thereupon grew many difficulties: Our provision and munition near spent; we in the enemy's country, who did far exceed us in number, being much enraged; all our Indians, except Onkos, deserting us; our pinnaces at a great distance from us, and when they would come we were uncertain.

But as we were consulting what course to take, it pleased God to discover our vessels to us before a fair gale of wind, sailing into Pequot harbor, to our great rejoicing.

ROGER WILLIAMS IN RHODE ISLAND

By Nathaniel Morton

IN 1669 the commissioners of the New England colonies requested Nathaniel Morton, Secretary of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, to compile a history of New England. He called the work which he published at Cambridge, Massachusetts, "New England's Memorial, or a Brief Relation of the Most Remarkable and Memorable Passages of the Providence of God Manifested to the Planters of New England."

This narrative, from which we have taken our account of Roger Williams, was often reprinted both in England and the colonies, and was the chief source of information about the period until recent discoveries of other documents, letters, diaries, etc. Morton lived in the home of Governor Bradford and was strongly prejudiced against Roger Williams for seceding from the Puritan manner of life and mode of religious thought, and that Morton could find nothing worse to say about him, is an eloquent testimonial to the character of Williams.

IN the year 1634 Mr. Roger Williams removed from Plymouth to Salem: he had lived about three years at Plymouth, where he was well accepted as an assistant in the ministry to Mr. Ralph Smith, then pastor of the church there, but by degrees venting of divers of his own singular opinions, and seeking to impose them upon others, he not finding such a concurrence as he expected, he desired his dismissal to the Church of Salem, which though some were unwilling to, yet through the prudent counsel of Mr. Brewster (the ruling elder there) fearing that

his continuance amongst them might cause division, and [thinking that] there being then many able men in the Bay, they would better deal with him than

[than] themselves could . . . the Church of Plymouth consented to his dismissal, and such as did adhere to him were also dismissed, and removed with him, or not long after him, to Salem. . . .

But he having in one year's time filled that place with principles of rigid separation, and tending to Anabaptistry, the prudent magistrates of the Massachusetts jurisdiction, sent to the church of Salem, desiring them to forbear calling him to office, which they not hearkening to, was a cause of much disturbance; for Mr. Williams had begun, and then being in office, he proceeded more vigorously to vent many dangerous opinions, as among many others these were some; That it is not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray, nor to take an oath, and in special, not the oath of fidelity to the Civil Government; nor was it lawful for a godly man to have communion either in family prayer, or in an oath with such as they judged unregenerate: and therefore he himself refused the oath of fidelity, and taught others so to do; also, that it was not lawful so much as to hear the godly ministers of England, when any occasionally went thither; and therefore he admonished any church-members that had done so, as for heinous sin: also he spoke dangerous words against the Patent, which was the foundation of the Government of the Massachusetts Colony: also he affirmed, that the magistrates had nothing to do in matters of the first table [of the commandments], but only the second; and

that there should be a general and unlimited toleration of all religions, and for any man to be punished for any matters of his conscience, was persecution. . . .

He persisted, and grew more violent in his way, insomuch as he staying at home in his own house, sent a letter, which was delivered and read in the public church assembly, the scope of which was to give them notice, That if the church of Salem would not separate not only from the churches of Old England, but the churches of New England too, he would separate from them: the more prudent and sober part of the church being amazed at his way, could not yield unto him: whereupon he never came to the church assembly more, professing separation from them as antichristian, and not only so, but he withdrew all private religious communion from any that would hold communion with the church there, insomuch as he would not pray nor give thanks at meals with his own wife nor any of his family, because they went to the church assemblies . . . which the prudent magistrates understanding, and seeing things grow more and more towards a general division and disturbance, after all other means used in vain, they passed a sentence of banishment against him out of the Massachusetts Colony, as against a disturber of the peace, both of the church and commonwealth.

After which Mr. Williams sat down in a place called Providence, out of the Massachusetts jurisdiction, and was followed by many of the members of the church of Salem, who did zealously adhere to him, and who

cried out of the persecution that was against him: some others also resorted to him from other parts. They had not been long there together, but from rigid separation they fell to Anabaptistry, renouncing the baptism which they had received in their infancy, and taking up another baptism, and so began a church in that way; but Mr. Williams stopped not there long, for after some time he told the people that had followed him, and joined with him in a new baptism, that he was out of the way himself, and had misled them, for he did not find that there was any upon earth that could administer baptism, and therefore their last baptism was a nullity, as well as their first; and therefore they must lay down all, and wait for the coming of new apostles: and so they dissolved themselves, and turned seekers, keeping that one principle, that every one should have liberty to worship God according to the light of their own consciences; but otherwise not owning any churches or ordinances of God anywhere upon earth.

THE FOUNDING OF HARVARD COLLEGE

THIS is the oldest printed account of Harvard University still in existence. It is evidently an anonymous letter, dated from Boston, September 26, 1642, and entitled "New England's First Fruits in Respect to the Progress of Learning in the College at Cambridge, in Massachusetts Bay."

It was published in London in 1643, a year after the graduation of Harvard's first class of nine members. The letter gives a graphic account of conditions in and around the future university, and shows the optimism with which the Puritans regarded the future "amid the stumps of their clearing in the wilderness."

Until recently the ancestry and early life of John Harvard was lost in obscurity. We now know that he was born in Southwark, London, in November, 1607. He was ordained as a dissenting clergyman at 30 years of age, and crossed the Atlantic to become minister in Charlestown, Mass., where he died a year later.

Mr. Harvard (a godly gentleman and a lover of learning, there living among us) to give the one half of his estate (it being in all about 1700 pounds) towards the erecting of a college, and all his library: after him another gave 300 pounds, others after them cast

AFTER God had carried us safe to New England, and we had built our houses, provided necessaries for our livelihood, reared convenient places for God's worship, and settled the Civil Government: One of the next things we longed for, and looked after was to advance learning, and perpetuate it to posterity, dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches, when our present ministers shall lie in the dust. And as we were thinking and consulting how to effect this great work, it pleased God to stir up the heart of one

in more, and the public hand of the State added the rest: the college was, by common consent, appointed to be at Cambridge, a place very pleasant and accommodating and is called (according to the name of the first founder) Harvard College.

The edifice is very fair and comely within and without, having in it a spacious hall; (where they daily meet at commons, lectures, exercises) and a large library with some books to it, the gifts of diverse of our friends, their chambers and studies also fitted for, and possessed by the students, and all other rooms of office necessary and convenient, with all needful offices thereto belonging: And by the side of the college a fair Grammar School, for the training up of young scholars, and fitting of them for academical learning, that still as they are judged ripe, they may be received into the college of this school. Master Corlet is the master, who has very well approved himself for his abilities, dexterity and painfulness in teaching and education of the youth under him.

Over the college is master Dunser placed, as President, a learned conscionable and industrious man, who has so trained up his pupils in the tongues and arts, and so seasoned them with the principles of divinity and Christianity that we have to our great comfort, (and in truth) beyond our hopes, beheld their progress in learning and godliness also; the former of these has appeared in their public declamations in Latin and Greek, and disputations logical and philosophical, which they have been wonted (besides their

ordinary exercises in the college-hall) in the audience of the magistrates, ministers and other scholars, for the probation of their growth in learning, upon set days, constantly once every month to make and uphold: The latter has been manifested in sundry of them by the savory breathings of their spirits in their godly conversation. Insomuch that we are confident, if these early blossoms may be cherished and warmed with the influence of the friends of learning, and lovers of this pious work, they will by the help of God, come to happy maturity in a short time.

Over the college are twelve overseers chosen by the general court, six of them are of the magistrates, the other six of the ministers, who are to promote the best good of it, and (having a power of influence into all persons in it) are to see that every one be diligent and proficient in his proper place.

Rules, and precepts that are observed in the college.

1. When any scholar is able to understand Tully, or such like classical Latin author extempore, and make and speak true Latin in verse and prose, And decline perfectly the paradigms of nouns and verbs in the Greek tongue: Let him then and not before be capable of admission into the college.

2. Let every student be plainly instructed, and earnestly pressed to consider well, the main end of his life and studies is, to know God and Jesus Christ which is eternal life, John 17. 3. and therefore to lay

Christ in the bottom, as the only foundation of all sound knowledge and learning.

And seeing the Lord only giveth wisdom, let every one seriously set himself by prayer in secret to seek it of him Prov. 2, 3.

3. Every one shall so exercise himself in reading the Scriptures twice a day, that he shall be ready to give such an account of his proficiency therein, both in theoretical observations of the language, and logic, and in practical and spiritual truths, as his tutor shall require, according to his ability; seeing the entrance of the word giveth light, it giveth understanding to the simple, Psalm. 119. 130.

4. That they eschewing all profanation of God's name, attributes, word, ordinance, and times of worship, do study with good conscience, carefully to retain God, and the love of his truth in their minds else let them know, that (notwithstanding their learning) God may give them up to strong delusions, and in the end to a reprobate mind, 2 Thes. 2. 11, 12. Rom. 1. 28.

5. That they studiously redeem the time; observe the general hours appointed for all the students, and the special hours for their own classes: and then diligently attend the lectures without any disturbance by word or gesture. And if in any thing they doubt, they shall inquire as of their fellows, so, (in case of non satisfaction) modestly of their tutors.

6. None shall under any pretense whatsoever, frequent the company and society of such men as lead

an unfit, and desolate life. Nor shall any without his tutor's leave, or (in his absence) the call of parents or guardians, go abroad to other towns.

7. Every scholar shall be present in his tutor's chamber at the seventh hour in the morning, immediately after the sound of the bell, at his opening the Scripture and prayer, so also at the fifth hour at night, and then give account of his own private reading, as aforesaid in particular the third, and constantly attend lectures in the hall at the hours appointed. But if any (without necessary impediment) shall absent himself from prayer or lectures, he shall be liable to admonition, if he offend above once a week.

8. If any scholar shall be found to transgress any of the laws of God, or the school, after twice admonition, he shall be liable, if not adultus, to correction, if adultus, his name shall be given up to the overseers of the college, that he may be admonished at the public monthly act. . . .

The manner of the late commencement, expressed in a letter sent over from the Governor, and diverse of the ministers, their own words these:

The students of the first class that have been these four years trained up in university learning (for their ripening in the knowledge of the tongues and arts) and are approved for their manners as they have kept their public acts in former years, ourselves being present, at them; so have they lately kept two solemn acts

for their commencement, when the Governor, magistrates, and the ministers from all parts, with all sorts of scholars, and others in great numbers were present, and did hear their exercises; which were Latin and Greek orations, and declamations and Hebrew analysis grammatical, logical and rhetorical of the Psalms: And their answers and disputations in logical, ethical, physical and metaphysical questions; and so were found worthy of the first degree, (commonly called bachelor) *pro more academiarum in Anglia*: Being first presented by the President to the magistrates and ministers, and by him, upon their approbation, solemnly admitted unto the same degree, and a book of arts delivered into each of their hands, and power given them to read lectures in the hall upon any of the arts, when they shall be thereunto called, and a liberty of studying in the library.

All things in the college are at present, like to proceed even as we can with, may it but please the Lord to go on with his blessing in Christ, and stir up the hearts of his faithful, and able servants in our own native country, and here, (as he has graciously begun) to advance this honorable and most hopeful work. The beginnings whereof and progress hitherto (generally) do fill our hearts with comfort, and raise them up to much more expectation, of the Lord's goodness for hereafter, for the good of posterity, and the churches of Christ Jesus.

THE FOUNDING OF NEW SWEDEN

By Israel Acrelius

THIS account of the founding of New Sweden is taken from the "History of New Sweden," by Rev. Israel Acrelius, who was for eight years pastor of the church at Christiana (now Wilmington, Del.) and was provost over the Swedish congregations in America. His history is a volume of 400 pages and while it was written more than a century after the Swedish colony was planted on the banks of the Delaware, it has remained the most authoritative work on the subject.

AFTER that the magnanimous Genoese, Christopher Columbus, had, at the expense of Ferdinand, King of Spain, in the year 1492, discovered the Western hemisphere, and the illustrious Florentine, Americus Vesputius, sent out by King Emanuel of Portugal, in the year 1502, to

make a further exploration of its coasts, had had the good fortune to give the country his name, the European powers have, from time to time, sought to promote their several interests there.

Our Swedes and Goths were the less backward in such expeditions, as they had always been the first therein. They had already, in the year 996 after the birth of Christ, visited America, had named it Vinland the Good, and also Skräellinga Land, and had called its inhabitants "the Skräellings of Vinland." It is therefore evident that the Northmen had visited some part of North America before the Spaniards and Portuguese went to South America. . . .

From that time until 1623, when the West India Company obtained its charter, their trade with the Indians was conducted almost entirely on shipboard, and they made no attempts to build any house or fortress until 1629. Now, whether that was done with or without the permission of England, the town of New Amsterdam was built and fortified, as also the place Aurania, Orange, now called Albany, having since had three general-governors, one after the other. But that was not yet enough. They wished to extend their power to the river Delaware also, and erected on its shores two or three small forts, which were, however, soon after destroyed by the natives of the country.

It now came in order for Sweden also to take part in this enterprise. William Usselinx, a Hollander, born at Antwerp in Brabant, presented himself to King Gustaf Adolph, and laid before him a proposition for a Trading Company, to be established in Sweden, and to extend its operations to Asia, Africa, and Magellan's Land (*Terra Magellanica*), with the assurance that this would be a great source of revenue to the kingdom. Full power was given him to carry out this important project; and thereupon a contract of trade was drawn up, to which the Company was to agree and subscribe it. Usselinx published explanations of this contract, wherein he also particularly directed attention to the country on the Delaware, its fertility, convenience, and all its imaginable resources. To strengthen the matter, a charter

(octroy) was secured to the Company, and especially to Usselinx, who was to receive a royalty of one thousandth upon all articles bought or sold by the Company.

The powerful king, whose zeal for the honor of God was not less ardent than for the welfare of his subjects, availed himself of this opportunity to extend the doctrines of Christ among the heathen, as well as to establish his own power in other parts of the world. To this end, he sent forth Letters Patent, dated at Stockholm on the 2d of July, 1626, wherein all, both high and low, were invited to contribute something to the Company, according to their means. The work was completed in the Diet of the following year, 1627, when the estates of the realm gave their assent, and confirmed the measure. Those who took part in this Company were: His Majesty's mother, the Queen Dowager Christina, the Prince John Casimir, the Royal Council, the most distinguished of the nobility, the highest officers of the army, the bishops and other clergymen, together with the burgomasters and aldermen of the cities, as well as a large number of the people generally. The time fixed for paying in the subscriptions was the 1st of May of the following year (1628). For the management and working of the plan there were appointed an admiral, vice-admiral, chapman, under-chapman, assistants, and commissaries; also a body of soldiers duly officered.

But when these arrangements were now in full progress, and duly provided for, the German war and

the king's death occurred, which caused this important work to be laid aside. The Trading Company was dissolved, its subscriptions nullified, and the whole project seemed about to die with the king. But, just as it appeared to be at its end, it received new life. Another Hollander, by the name of Peter Menewe, sometimes called Menuet, made his appearance in Sweden. He had been in the service of Holland in America, where he became involved in difficulties with the officers of their West India Company, in consequence of which he was recalled home and dismissed from their service. But he was not discouraged by this, and went over to Sweden, where he renewed the representations which Usselinx had formerly made in regard to the excellence of the country and the advantages that Sweden might derive from it.

Queen Christina, who succeeded her royal father in the government, was glad to have the project thus renewed. The royal chancellor, Count Axel Oxenstierna, understood well how to put it in operation. He took the West India Trading Company into his own hands, as its president, and encouraged other noblemen to take shares in it. King Charles I. of England had already, in the year 1634, upon representations made to him by John Oxenstierna, at that time Swedish ambassador in London, renounced, in favor of the Swedes, all claims and pretensions of the English to that country, growing out of their rights as its first discoverers. Hence everything seemed to be settled upon a firm foundation, and all earnestness

was employed in the prosecution of the plans for a colony.

As a good beginning, the first colony was sent off; and Peter Menewe was placed over it, as being best acquainted in those regions. They set sail from Götheborg, in a ship-of-war called the Key of Colmar, followed by a smaller vessel bearing the name of the Bird Griffin, both laden with people, provisions, ammunition, and merchandise, suitable for traffic and gifts to the Indians. The ships successfully reached their place of destination. The high expectations which our emigrants had of that new land were well met by the first views which they had of it. They made their first landing on the bay or entrance to the river Poutaxat, which they called the river of New Sweden; and the place where they landed they called Paradise Point.

A purchase of land was immediately made from the Indians; and it was determined that all the land on the western side of the river, from the point called Cape Inlopen or Hinlopen, up to the fall called Santickan, and all the country inland, as much as was ceded, should belong to the Swedish crown forever. Posts were driven into the ground as landmarks, which were still seen in their places sixty years afterwards. A deed was drawn up for the land thus purchased. This was written in Dutch, because no Swede was yet able to interpret the language of the heathen.

The first abode of the newly arrived emigrants was at a place called by the Indians Hopokahacking.

There, in the year 1638, Peter Menuet built a fortress which he named Fort Christina, after the reigning queen of Sweden. The place, situated upon the west side of the river, was probably chosen so as to be out of the way of the Hollanders, who claimed the eastern side,—a measure of prudence, until the arrival of a greater force from Sweden. The fort was built upon an eligible site, not far from the mouth of the creek, so as to secure them in the navigable water of the the Maniquas, which was afterwards called Christina Kihl, or creek. . . .

Thus Peter Menuet made a good beginning for the settlement of the Swedish colony in America. He guarded his little fort for over three years, and the Hollanders neither attempted nor were able to overthrow it. After some years of faithful service he died at Christina. In his place followed Peter Høllendare, a native Swede, who did not remain at the head of its affairs more than a year and a half. He returned home to Sweden, and was a major at Skeps-holm, in Stockholm, in the year 1655.

The second emigration took place under Lieutenant Colonel John Printz, who went out with the appointment of Governor of New Sweden. He had a grant of four hundred six dollars for his traveling expenses, and one thousand two hundred dollars silver as his annual salary. The Company was invested with the exclusive privilege of importing tobacco into Sweden, although that article was even then regarded as unnecessary and injurious. . . .

THE voyage to New Sweden was at that time quite long. The watery way to the West was not yet well discovered, and, therefore, for fear of the sand-banks off Newfoundland, they kept their course to the east and south as far as to what were then called the Brazates. The ships which went under the command of Governor Printz sailed along the coast of Portugal, and down the coast of Africa, until they found the eastern passage, then directly over to America, leaving the Canaries high up to the north. They landed at Antigua, then continued their voyage northward, past Virginia and Maryland, to Cape Hinlopen. Yet, in view of the astonishingly long route which they took, the voyage was quick enough in six months' time,—from Stockholm on August 16, 1642, to the new fort of Christina, in New Sweden, on February 15, 1643.

The Swedes who emigrated to America belonged partly to a trading company, provided with a charter, who, for their services, according to their condition or agreement, were to receive pay and monthly wages; a part of them also went at their own impulse to try their fortune. For these it was free to settle and live in the country as long as they pleased or to leave it, and they were therefore, by way of distinction from the others, called freemen. At first, also, malefactors and vicious people were sent over, who were used as slaves to labor upon the fortifications. They were kept in chains and not allowed to have intercourse with the other settlers; moreover, a sepa-

rate place of abode was assigned to them. The neighboring people and country were dissatisfied that such wretches should come into the colony. It was also, in fact, very objectionable in regard to the heathen, who might be greatly offended by it. Whence it happened that, when such persons came over in Governor Printz's time, it was not permitted that one of them should set foot upon the shore, but they had all to be carried back again, whereupon a great part of them died during the voyage or perished in some other way. Afterwards it was forbidden at home in Sweden, under a penalty, to take for the American voyage any persons of bad fame; nor was there ever any lack of good people for the colony.

Governor Printz was now in a position to put the government upon a safe footing to maintain the rights of the Swedes, and to put down the attempts of the Hollanders. They had lately, before his arrival, patched their little Fort Nassau. On this account he selected the island of Tenackong as his residence, which is sometimes also called Tutaeaenung and Tenicko, about three Swedish miles from Fort Christina. The convenient situation of the place suggested its selection, as also the location of Fort Nassau, which lay some miles over against it, to which he could thus command the passage by water. The new fort, which was erected and provided with considerable armament, was called New Götheborg. His place of residence, which he adorned with orchards, gardens, a pleasure-house, etc., he named Printz Hall. . . .

THE FIRST WRITTEN CONSTITUTION

By "*A General Court at Hartford*"

IN THE spring of 1638 three Connecticut towns, Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield, chose representatives and held a general court at Hartford. At its opening session the Reverend Thomas Hooker preached a powerful sermon on the text that "the foundation of authority is laid in the free consent of the people."

On January 14 following, the constitution given here was adopted by the freemen of the three towns assembled at Hartford. Nowhere in this great document is there a reference to "our dread Sovereign" or "our gracious Lord the King,"—nor to any government or power outside of Connecticut itself. It did not even limit the vote to members of Puritan congregations.

In all history this is the first written constitution which created a government, and it is easily seen to be the prototype of our Federal Constitution, adopted exactly one hundred and fifty years later.

FORASMUCH as it has pleased Almighty God by the wise disposition of his divine providence so to order and dispose of things that we the inhabitants and residents of Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield are now cohabiting and dwelling in and upon the River of Connecticut and the lands thereunto adjoining; and well knowing where a people are gathered together the word of God requires that to maintain the peace and union of such a people there should be an orderly and decent government established according to

God, to order and dispose of the affairs of the people at all seasons as occasion shall require; do therefore associate and conjoin ourselves to be as one public State or Commonwealth; and do for ourselves and

our successors and such as shall be adjoined to us at any time hereafter, enter into combination and confederation together, to maintain and preserve the liberty and purity of the gospel of our Lord Jesus which we now profess, as also the discipline of the churches, which according to the truth of the said gospel is now practiced among us; as also in our civil affairs to be guided and governed according to such laws, rules, orders and decrees as shall be made, ordered and decreed, as follows:

1. It is ordered, sentenced and decreed, that there shall be yearly two general assemblies or courts, one the second Thursday in April, the other the second Thursday in September following; the first shall be called the Court of Election, wherein shall be yearly chosen from time to time so many magistrates and other public officers as shall be found requisite: Whereof one to be chosen Governor for the year ensuing and until another be chosen, and no other magistrate to be chosen for more than one year; provided always there be six chosen beside the Governor; which being chosen and sworn according to an oath recorded for that purpose shall have power to administer justice according to the laws here established, and for want thereof according to the rule of the word of God; which choice shall be made by all that are admitted freemen and have taken the oath of fidelity, and do cohabit with in this jurisdiction (having been admitted inhabitants by the major part of

the town wherein they live), or the major part of such as shall be then present.

2. It is ordered, sentenced and decreed, that the election of the aforesaid magistrates shall be in this manner: every person present and qualified for choice shall bring in (to the persons deputed to receive them) one single paper with the name of him written in it whom he desires to have Governor, and he that has the greatest number of papers shall be Governor for that year. And the rest of the magistrates or public officers to be chosen in this manner: The Secretary for the time being shall first read the names of all that are to be put to choice and then shall severally nominate them distinctly, and every one that would have the person nominated to be chosen shall bring in one single paper written upon, and he that would not have him chosen shall bring in a blank: and every one that has more written papers than blanks shall be a magistrate for that year; which papers shall be received and told by one or more that shall be then chosen by the court and sworn to be faithful therein; but in case there should not be six chosen as aforesaid, besides the Governor, out of those which are nominated, then he or they which have the most written papers shall be a magistrate or magistrates for the ensuing year, to make up the foresaid number.

3. It is ordered, sentenced and decreed, that the Secretary shall not nominate any person, nor shall any person be chosen newly into the Magistracy which was not propounded in some General Court

before, to be nominated the next election; and to that end it shall be lawful for each of the towns aforesaid by their deputies to nominate any two whom they conceive fit to be put to election; and the Court may add so many more as they judge requisite.

4. It is ordered, sentenced and decreed that no person be chosen Governor more than once in two years, and that the Governor be always a member of some approved congregation, and formerly of the magistracy within this jurisdiction; and all the magistrates freemen of this Commonwealth: and that no magistrate or other public officer shall execute any part of his or their office before they are severally sworn, which shall be done in the face of the Court if they be present, and in case of absence by some one deputed for that purpose.

5. It is ordered, sentenced and decreed, that to the aforesaid Court of Election the several towns shall send their deputies, and when the elections are ended they may proceed in any public service as at other courts. Also the other General Court in September shall be for making of laws, and any other public occasion, which concerns the good of the Commonwealth.

6. It is ordered, sentenced and decreed, that the Governor shall, either by himself or by the Secretary, send out summons to the constables of every town for the calling of these two standing Courts, one month at least before their several times: And also if the Governor and the greatest part of the magis-

trates see cause upon any special occasion to call a General Court, they may give order to the Secretary so to do within fourteen days warning: and if urgent necessity so require, upon a shorter notice, giving sufficient grounds for it to the deputies when they meet, or else be questioned for the same; and if the Governor and major part of magistrates shall either neglect or refuse to call the two General standing Courts or either of them, as also at other times when the occasions of the Commonwealth require, the freemen thereof, or the major part of them, shall petition to them so to do: if then it be either denied or neglected the said freemen or the major part of them shall have power to give order to the constables of the several towns to do the same, and so may meet together, and choose to themselves a moderator, and may proceed to do any act of power, which any other General Court may.

7. It is ordered, sentenced and decreed that after there are warrants given out for any of the said General Courts, the constable or constables of each town shall forthwith give notice distinctly to the inhabitants of the same, in some public assembly or by going or sending from house to house, that at a place and time by him or them limited and set, they meet and assemble themselves together to elect and choose certain deputies to be at the General Court then following to agitate the affairs of the Commonwealth; which said deputies shall be chosen by all that are admitted inhabitants in the several towns and have taken the

oath of fidelity; provided that none be chosen a deputy for any General Court who is not a freeman of this Commonwealth.

The foresaid deputies shall be chosen in manner following: every person that is present and qualified as before expressed, shall bring the names of such, written in several papers, as they desire to have chosen for that employment, and these 3 or 4, more or less, being the number agreed on to be chosen for that time, that have the greatest number of papers written for them shall be deputies for that Court; whose names shall be endorsed on the back side of the warrant and returned into the Court, with the constable or constables' hand unto the same.

8. It is ordered, sentenced and decreed, that Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield shall have power, each town, to send four of their freemen as deputies to every General Court; and whatsoever other towns shall be hereafter added to this jurisdiction, they shall send so many deputies as the Court shall judge meet, a reasonable proportion to the number of freemen that are in the said towns being to be attended therein; which deputies shall have the power of the whole town to give their votes and allowance to all such laws and orders as may be for the public good, and unto which the said towns are to be bound.

9. It is ordered and decreed, that the deputies thus chosen shall have power and liberty to appoint a time and a place of meeting together before any General Court to advise and consult of all such things as may

concern the good of the public, as also to examine their own elections, whether according to the order, and if they or the greatest part of them find any election to be illegal they may seclude such for present from their meeting, and return the same and their reasons to the Court; and if it prove true, the Court may fine the party or parties so intruding and the town, if they see cause, and give out a warrant to go to a new election in a legal way, either in part or in whole. Also the said deputies shall have power to fine any that shall be disorderly at their meetings, or for not coming in due time or place according to appointment; and they may return the said fines into the Court if it be refused to be paid, and the Treasurer to take notice of it, and to extract or levy the same as he does other fines.

10. It is ordered, sentenced and decreed, that every General Court, except such as through neglect of the Governor and the greatest part of magistrates the freemen themselves do call, shall consist of the Governor, or some one chosen to moderate the Court, and 4 other Magistrates at least, with the major part of the deputies of the several towns legally chosen; and in case the freemen or major part of them, through neglect or refusal of the Governor and major part of the magistrates, shall call a Court, it shall consist of the major part of freemen that are present or their deputies, with a moderator chosen by them: In which said General Court shall consist the supreme power of the Commonwealth, and they only shall have

power to make laws or repeal them, to grant leaves, to admit of freemen, dispose of lands undisposed of, to several towns or persons, and also shall have power to call either Court or magistrate or any other person whatsoever into question for any misdemeanor, and may for just cause displace or deal otherwise according to the nature of the offense; and also may deal in any other matter that concerns the good of this Commonwealth, except the election of magistrates, which shall be done by the whole body of freemen.

In which Court the Governor or moderator shall have power to order the Court to give liberty of speech, and silence unseasonable and disorderly speakings, to put all things to vote, and in case the vote be equal to have the casting voice. But none of these Courts shall be adjourned or dissolved without the consent of the major part of the Court.

11. It is ordered, sentenced and decreed that when any General Court upon the occasions of the Commonwealth have agreed upon any sum or sums of money to be levied upon the several towns within this jurisdiction, that a committee be chosen to set out and appoint what shall be the proportion of every town to pay of the said levy, provided the committees be made up of an equal number out of each town.

14th January, 1638 [1638/9], the 11 orders above-said are voted.

THE PERSECUTION OF THE QUAKERS

By James Cudworth

FROM the first imprisonment of George Fox, founder of the religious denomination known as Quakers, in 1649, its members were objects of continuous persecution. At the time Cudworth, a magistrate of Scituate, Mass., wrote this letter (1658) there were seldom less than 1000 Quakers in English and colonial prisons.

Between 1661 and 1697 over 13,000 of them were jailed in England, 198 were transported as slaves and 338 died in prison. These persecutions were upon such pretexts as refusing to pay tithes, to swear or to remove the hat; for preaching in public places or traveling on the Sabbath. In New England stringent exclusion laws were passed, but the Quakers seemed to thrive on persecution. Numerous women were "stripped naked from the waist, tied to a cart's tail and whipped through the streets." Four Quakers—one a woman, Mary Dyer—were hanged on Boston Common.

AS for the state and condition of things among us, it is sad, and like so to continue; the antichristian persecuting spirit is very active, and that in the powers of this world. He that will not whip and lash, persecute and punish men that differ in matters of religion, must not sit on the bench, nor sustain any office in the commonwealth.

Last election, Mr. Hatherly and myself left off the bench, and myself discharged of my captainship, because I had entertained some of the Quakers at my house

(thereby that I might be the better acquainted with their principles). I thought it better so to do, than with the blind world to censure, condemn, rail at, and revile them, when they neither saw their persons, nor

knew any of their principles. But the Quakers and myself cannot close in divers things; and so I signified to the court I was no Quaker, but must bear my testimony against sundry things that they held, as I had occasion and opportunity. But withal, I told them, that as I was no Quaker, so I would be no persecutor. This spirit did work those two years that I was of the magistracy; during which time I was on sundry occasions forced to declare my dissent in sundry actings of that nature; which, although done with all moderation of expression, together with due respect unto the rest, yet it wrought great disaffection and prejudice in them, against me; so that if I should say some of themselves set others on work to frame a petition against me, that so they might have a seeming ground from others (though first moved and acted by themselves, to lay me what they could under reproach) I should do no wrong. The petition was with nineteen hands; it will be too long to make rehearsal. It wrought such a disturbance in our town, and in our military company, that when the act of court was read in the head of the company, had not I been present and made a speech to them, I fear there had been such actings as would have been of a sad consequence.

The court was again followed with another petition of fifty-four hands, and the court returned the petitioners an answer with much plausibleness of speech, carrying with it great show of respect to them, readily acknowledging, with the petitioners, my parts and

gifts, and how useful I had been in my place; professing they had nothing at all against me, only in that thing of giving entertainment to the Quakers; when as I broke no law in giving them a night's lodging or two and some victuals. For, our law then was,—If any entertain a Quaker, and keep him after he is warned by a magistrate to depart, the party so entertaining shall pay twenty shillings a week, for entertaining them. Since hath been made a law,—If any entertain a Quaker, if but a quarter of an hour, he is to forfeit five pounds. Another,—That if any see a Quaker, he is bound, if he live six miles or more from the constable, yet he must presently go and give notice to the constable, or else is subject to the censure of the court (which may be hang him). Another,—That if the constable know or hear of any Quaker in his precincts, he is presently to apprehend him; and if he will not presently depart the town, the constable is to whip them, and send them away. And divers have been whipped with us in our patent; and truly, to tell you plainly, that the whipping of them with that cruelty, as some have been whipped, and their patience under it, hath sometimes been the occasion of gaining more adherence to them, than if they had suffered them openly to have preached a sermon.

Also another law,—That if there be a Quaker meeting anywhere in this colony, the party in whose house, or on whose ground, is to pay forty shillings; the preaching Quaker forty shillings; every hearer forty shillings. Yea, and if they have meetings, though

nothing be spoken when they so meet, which they say, so it falls out sometimes—our last law,—That now they are to be apprehended, and carried before a magistrate, and by him committed to be kept close prisoner, until he will promise to depart and never come again; and will also pay his fees (which I perceive they will do neither the one nor the other); and they must be kept only with the country's allowance, which is but small (namely, coarse bread and water). No friend may bring them anything; none may be permitted to speak with them; nay, if they have money of their own, they may not make use of that to relieve themselves.

In the Massachusetts (namely, Boston colony) after they have whipped them, and cut their ears, have now, at last, gone the furthest step they can: they banish them upon pain of death, if ever they come there again. We expect that we must do the like; we must dance after their pipe. Now Plymouth saddle is on the Bay horse (viz., Boston), we shall follow them on the career; for, it is well if in some there be not a desire to be their apes and imitators in all their proceedings in things of this nature.

All these carnal and antichristian ways, being not of God's appointment, effect nothing as to the obstructing or hindering of them in their way or course. It is only the Word and Spirit of the Lord that is able to convince gainsayers: they are the mighty weapons of a Christian's warfare, by which great and mighty things are done and accomplished.

They have many meetings and many adherents, almost the whole town of Sandwich is adhering towards them; and give me leave a little to acquaint you with their sufferings, which is grievous unto and saddens the hearts of most of the precious saints of God. It lies down and rises up with them, and they cannot put it out of their minds, to see and hear of poor families deprived of their comforts and brought into penury and want (you may say, by what means, and to what end?). As far as I am able to judge of the end, it is to force them from their homes and lawful habitations, and to drive them out of their coasts.

The Massachusetts have banished six of their own inhabitants, to be gone upon pain of death; and I wish that blood be not shed. But our poor people are pillaged and plundered of their goods; and haply, when they have no more to satisfy their unsatiable desire, at last may be forced to flee, and glad they have their lives for a prey.

As for the means by which they are impoverished: these in the first place were scrupulous of an oath; why then we must put in force an old law,—that all must take the oath of fidelity. This being tendered, they will not take it; and then we must add more force to the law, and that is, if any man refuse, or neglect to take it by such a time, shall pay five pounds or depart the colony. When the time is come, they are the same as they were; then goes out the marshal, and fetcheth away their cows and other cattle. Well, another court comes, they are required to take the

oath again, they cannot—then five pounds more. On this account thirty-five head of cattle, as I have been credibly informed, hath been by the authority of our court taken from them the latter part of this summer; and these people say,—If they have more right to them, than themselves, Let them take them. Some that had a cow only, some two cows, some three cows, and many small children in their families, to whom in summer time a cow or two was the greatest outward comfort they had for their subsistence. A poor weaver that hath seven or eight small children (I know not which), he himself lame in his body, had but two cows, and both taken from him. The marshal asked him, What he would do? He must have his cows. The man said, That God that gave him them, he doubted not, but would still provide for him. . . .

JOHN LOCKE AND THE FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS OF CAROLINA

By H. R. Fox Bourne

THE Lord Ashley mentioned in this extract from H. R. Fox Bourne's "*Life of John Locke*," afterwards was the Earl of Shaftesbury, Lord Chancellor of England, and for many years was a patron of Locke's. It was while he was living with Lord Ashley as his family physician that Locke was employed to draw up a form of constitution for the Carolina colony, and during the same period he wrote his famous philosophical "*Essay on Human Understanding*."

Neither Locke nor his noble patron appears ever to have visited America in person. Locke is said to have received £100 for writing the Carolina Constitutions, providing for three orders of nobility and four houses of Parliament, which were never adopted; as compared with £30 paid him for the copyright of the first edition of his great essay.

came in some sort of irregular way the chief secretary or manager of the whole company of lords proprietors of Carolina. His conduct in this new position shows something more than the versatility of his talents and the superabundance of his energy.

A little had been done, without much prudence, before Locke became interested in the matter; but

IN 1663, all earlier patents being revoked, this district, now known as Carolina, was given by Charles the Second to eight "lords proprietors," Lord Chancellor Clarendon, the Duke of Albemarle, Lord Craven, Lord Berkeley, Lord Ashley, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkeley, and Sir John Colleton. Of these patentees Ashley was the most active and influential; and thus it happened that Locke, being Ashley's principal adviser and assistant, be-

the real work began in April, 1669, when the proprietors undertook to contribute £500 apiece towards the fitting out of an expedition, and steps were immediately taken for putting the money to good use. All was ready by the 10th of August, when the good ship *Carolina*, with eighty-six men and six women on board, including officers, crew, and passengers, started for the new colony, along with a smaller craft, the *Port Royal*, and a little sloop, the *Albemarle*, as to the number of whose officers, crews, and passengers we are not informed. The *Carolina* cost £930 17s. 11d., the *Port Royal* £199 5s. 8d., and the *Albemarle* £82 1s. 10d.; and the entire charges for fitting out these vessels, including the wages of the seamen, made a total of £3200 16s. 6d. for the whole preliminary expense of this first English expedition in aid of the stragglers and small groups of emigrants from other colonies who had begun to take irregular possession of some corners of the province. The expedition seems small when compared with the exploits of more recent times. But it was a great one for that day, and no little labor and good management were required in buying and fitting out the ships, and in getting them afloat, between the end of April and the middle of August. Those were busy months for all who had the management of the enterprise; and, Exeter House being its headquarters, and Locke its principal superintendent, there can be no doubt that he had plenty of work on his hands that summer.

To him, moreover, was specially assigned a much more delicate, and doubtless a much more congenial, task than the superintendence of this business. No young colony can thrive without adequate supplies of food, clothing, and the like; and many hopeful ventures failed in old times for lack of these. But quite as frequent a cause of failure was bad government, amid a profusion of material resources; and good government is a harder thing to provide than money and provisions. Wonderful pains were taken to provide good government for Carolina, and perhaps no colony was ever started with a more elaborate scheme of political, social, and religious organization. Locke had a large share in this work, though there can hardly be any doubt that it was initiated by Lord Ashley, and modified by his fellow-proprietors. The scheme that was produced agrees entirely with all we know of Lord Ashley's theoretical opinions, and his notion of the ways in which they should be put into practice, while some of those opinions are distinctly at variance with the views which Locke had already expressed in his "Essay concerning Toleration" and his "Reflections upon the Roman Commonwealth," and which he long afterwards expressed in almost identical terms in his published writings. There is such close resemblance, however, between some of its provisions and some of the views which Locke had set on record before his acquaintance with Lord Ashley began that he must certainly have had a share, not only in its detailed working out, but also

in its original concoction. We may safely assume, accordingly, that it grew out of conferences in which Locke took part in his undefined capacity of secretary, and that to him was intrusted the task of setting forth the results of those conferences in orderly and intelligible shape, without power of altering the conditions that had already been agreed upon.

The scheme was set forth in "The Fundamental Constitutions for the Government of Carolina," of which there is extant a draft in Locke's handwriting, dated the 21st of June, 1669, and which, with some alterations, were issued by the proprietors on the 1st of March, 1669-70. It attempted to adapt to the circumstances and exigencies of the new colony a comprehensive and overwhelming system of feudal government, tempered, however, by a remarkable liberality in religious affairs. It is in the latter respect only that we have any means of estimating the extent of Locke's share in the projecting of these "Constitutions," apart from his proper business as a draughtsman; and therefore it will suffice to call attention to the clauses by which a large measure of religious liberty was secured for Carolina.

"No man," it is stipulated in the first of these clauses, "shall be permitted to be a freeman of Carolina or to have any estate or habitation within it, that doth not acknowledge a God, and that God is publicly to be worshiped." Whether Locke initiated that rule, we have no means of knowing; but his views expressed elsewhere clearly show that he agreed with it.

The next clause, however, we are told, "was not drawn up by Mr. Locke, but inserted by some of the chief of the proprietors, against his judgment, as Mr. Locke himself informed one of his friends." "As the country comes to be sufficiently planted and distributed into fit divisions," it was there appointed, "it shall belong to the Parliament to take care for the building of churches and the public maintenance of divines, to be employed in the exercise of religion according to the Church of England, which, being the only true and orthodox and the national religion of the King's dominions, is also of Carolina, and therefore it alone shall be allowed to receive public maintenance by grant of Parliament." By comparing that clause with those that follow, we shall be able to measure their liberality, such liberality as few men besides Locke, in his day, would have been likely to advocate. . . .

Whether Locke originated those generous arrangements or not, he was certainly responsible for the wording of them, in which the generosity was clearly expressed; and it is strange that either he or Lord Ashley, who agreed with him in this matter, should have been able to persuade the other proprietors of Carolina to accede to such provisions. You must believe in God and consent to worship him, and you must make no secret of your belief, or your form of worship, if you want to settle in Carolina, they said in effect to all would-be emigrants; but that is all we require of you. Any seven or more of you may adopt

any sort of notion about God, and any plan for worshipping him, that commend themselves to your judgments, provided of course that the freedom claimed by you does not interfere with the freedom of other persons; and not only shall you be allowed to hold your beliefs and opinions without any restraint, but you shall also be protected by the state from all sorts of interference with you in doing so.

No other colony, English or foreign, was ever started with such guarantees for "liberty of conscience," and it is well to remember that, long after the "Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina" had been formally abrogated, the moral authority of these guarantees remained in force, and that, in consequence of them, Carolina became a much freer asylum for religious outcasts from Europe than either Massachusetts or Pennsylvania.

The political and territorial arrangements of the "Constitutions" never actually came into operation. Issued first in 1670, they were reissued, with some modifications, in 1682, and again, with more important modifications, in 1698. But the real institutions of the colony were home-grown and developed out of experience, and the supremacy of the lords proprietors was virtually repudiated long before Carolina, by this time divided into two prosperous communities, became part of the United States.

THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF NEW YORK

By John R. Brodhead

NO AMERICAN historian has been so well equipped to write the history of New York from its Indian and Dutch settlement days as John Romeyn Brodhead. He was for several years connected with the American legation in Holland, and while there was appointed, in 1841, pursuant to an act of the New York Legislature, to procure and transcribe documents in European archives relating to the history of the State.

He succeeded in collecting more than 5000 documents, many of which had been previously unknown to historians. "The ship in which he came back," says Bancroft, "was more richly freighted with new material for American history than any that ever crossed the Atlantic."

His history of the State of New York is distinguished for its candor and painstaking accuracy, and which, though left incomplete, remains the standard work for the period covered—1609 to 1691.

ENGLAND now determined boldly to rob Holland of her American province. King Charles II accordingly sealed a patent granting to the Duke of York and Albany a large territory in America, comprehending Long Island and the islands in its neighborhood—his title to which Lord Stirling had released—and all the lands and rivers from the west side of the Connecticut River to the east side of Delaware Bay. This sweeping grant included the whole of New Netherlands and a part of the territory of Connecticut, which, two years before,

Charles had confirmed to Winthrop and his associates. The Duke of York lost no time in giving effect to his patent. As lord high admiral he directed the

fleet. Four ships, the *Guinea*, of thirty-six guns; the *Elias*, of thirty; the *Martin*, of sixteen; and the *William and Nicholas*, of ten, were detached for service against New Netherlands, and about four hundred fifty regular soldiers, with their officers, were embarked. The command of the expedition was intrusted to Colonel Richard Nicolls, a faithful Royalist, who had served under Turenne with James, and had been made one of the gentlemen of his bedchamber. Nicolls was also appointed to be the Duke's deputy-governor, after the Dutch possessions should have been reduced.

With Nicolls were associated Sir Robert Carr, Colonel George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick, as royal commissioners to visit the several colonies in New England. . . .

Intelligence from Boston that an English expedition against New Netherlands had sailed from Portsmouth was soon communicated to Stuyvesant by Captain Thomas Willet; and the burgomasters and "schepens" of New Amsterdam were summoned to assist the council with their advice. The capital was ordered to be put in a state of defense, guards to be maintained, and "schippers" to be warned. As there was very little powder at Fort Amsterdam a supply was demanded from New Amstel, and a loan of five or six thousand guilders was asked from Rensselaerswyck. The ships about to sail for Curaçao were stopped; agents were sent to purchase provisions at New Haven; and as the enemy was expected to ap-

proach through Long Island Sound, spies were sent to obtain intelligence at West Chester and Milford. . . .

When the truth of Willett's intelligence became confirmed, the council sent an express to recall Stuyvesant from Fort Orange. Hurrying back to the capital, the anxious director endeavored to redeem the time which had been lost. The municipal authorities ordered one-third of the inhabitants, without exception, to labor every third day at the fortifications; organized a permanent guard; forbade the brewers to malt any grain; and called on the provincial government for artillery and ammunition. Six pieces, besides the fourteen previously allotted, and a thousand pounds of powder were accordingly granted to the city. The colonists around Fort Orange, pleading their own danger from the savages, could afford no help; but the soldiers of Esopus were ordered to come down, after leaving a small garrison at Ronduit.

In the meantime the English squadron had anchored just below the Narrows, in Nyack Bay, between New Utrecht and Coney Island. The mouth of the river was shut up; communication between Long Island and Manhattan, Bergen and Achter Cul, interrupted; several yachts on their way to the South River captured; and the blockhouse on the opposite shore of Staten Island seized. Stuyvesant now dispatched Counsellor de Decker, Burgomaster Van der Grist, and the two domines Megapolensis with a letter to the English commanders inquiring why they had come, and why they continued at Nyack without giv-

ing notice. The next morning, which was Saturday, Nicolls sent Colonel Cartwright, Captain Needham, Captain Groves, and Mr. Thomas Delavall up to Fort Amsterdam with a summons for the surrender of "the town situate on the island and commonly known by the name of Manhatoes, with all the forts thereunto belonging." . . .

Nicolls addressed a letter to Winthrop, who with other commissioners from New England had joined the squadron, authorizing him to assure Stuyvesant that, if Manhattan should be delivered up to the King, "any people from the Netherlands may freely come and plant there or thereabouts; and such vessels of their own country may freely come thither, and any of them may as freely return home in vessels of their own country." Visiting the city under a flag of truce Winthrop delivered this to Stuyvesant outside the fort and urged him to surrender. The director declined; and, returning to the fort, he opened Nicolls' letter before the council and the burgomasters, who desired that it should be communicated, as "all which regarded the public welfare ought to be made public." Against this Stuyvesant earnestly remonstrated, and, finding that the burgomasters continued firm, in a fit of passion he "tore the letter in pieces." The citizens suddenly ceasing their work at the palisades, hurried to the Stadt-Huys, and sent three of their number to the fort to demand the letter.

In vain the director hastened to pacify the burghers and urge them to go on with the fortifications. "Com-

plaints and curses" were uttered on all sides against the company's misgovernment; resistance was declared to be idle; "The letter! the letter!" was the general cry. To avoid a mutiny Stuyvesant yielded, and a copy, made out from the collected fragments, was handed to the burgomasters. In answer, however, to Nicolls' summons he submitted a long justification of the Dutch title; yet while protesting against any breach of the peace between the King and the States-General, "for the hinderance and prevention of all differences and the spilling of innocent blood, not only in these parts, but also in Europe," he offered to treat. "Long Island is gone and lost"; the capital "cannot hold out long," was the last dispatch to the "Lord Majors" of New Netherlands, which its director sent off that night "in silence through Hell Gate."

Observing Stuyvesant's reluctance to surrender, Nicolls directed Captain Hyde, who commanded the squadron, to reduce the fort. Two of the ships accordingly landed their troops just below Breuckelen (Brooklyn), where volunteers from New England and the Long Island villages had already encamped. The other two, coming up with full sail, passed in front of Fort Amsterdam and anchored between it and Nutten Island. Standing on one of the angles of the fortress—an artilleryman with a lighted match at his side—the director watched their approach. At this moment the two domines Megapolensis, imploring him not to begin hostilities, led Stuyvesant from the rampart, who then, with a hundred of the garri-

son, went into the city to resist the landing of the English. Hoping on against hope, the director now sent Counselor de Decker, Secretary Van Ruypen, Burgomaster Steenwyck, and "Schepen" Cousseau with a letter to Nicolls stating that, as he felt bound "to stand the storm," he desired if possible to arrange an accommodation. But the English commander merely declared, "To-morrow I will speak with you at Manhattan."

"Friends," was the answer, "will be welcome if they come in a friendly manner."

"I shall come with ships and soldiers," replied Nicolls; "raise the white flag of peace at the fort, and then something may be considered."

When this imperious message became known, men, women, and children flocked to the director, beseeching him to submit. His only answer was, "I would rather be carried out dead." The next day the city authorities, the clergymen, and the officers of the burgher guard, assembling at the Stadt-Huys, at the suggestion of Domine Megapolensis, adopted a remonstrance to the director, exhibiting the hopeless situation of New Amsterdam, on all sides "encompassed and hemmed in by enemies," and protesting against any further opposition to the will of God. Besides the schout, burgomasters, and schepens, the remonstrance was signed by Wilmerdonck and eighty-five of the principal inhabitants, among whom was Stuyvesant's own son, Balthazar.

At last the director was obliged to yield. . . . There were scarcely six hundred pounds of serviceable powder in store. A council of war had reported Fort Amsterdam untenable; for though it mounted twenty-four guns, its single wall of earth, not more than ten feet high and four thick, was almost touched by the private dwellings clustered around, and was commanded, within a pistol-shot, by hills on the north, over which ran the "Heereweg" or Broadway.

Upon the faith of Nicolls' promise to deliver back the city and fort "in case the difference of the limits of this province be agreed upon betwixt his majesty of England and the high and mighty States-General," Stuyvesant now commissioned . . . to agree upon articles with the English commander or his representatives.

At eight o'clock the next morning, which was Saturday, the commissioners on both sides met at Stuyvesant's "bouwery" and arranged the terms of capitulation. The only difference which arose was respecting the Dutch soldiers, whom the English refused to convey back to Holland. The articles of capitulation promised the Dutch security in their property, customs of inheritance, liberty of conscience and church discipline. The municipal officers of Manhattan were to continue for the present unchanged, and the town was to be allowed to choose deputies, with "free voices in all public affairs." Owners of property in Fort Orange might, if they pleased, "slight the fortifications there," and enjoy

their houses "as people do where there is no fort."

For six months there was to be free intercourse with Holland. Public records were to be respected. The articles, consented to by Nicolls, were to be ratified by Stuyvesant the next Monday morning at eight o'clock, and within two hours afterward, the "fort and town called New Amsterdam, upon the Isle of Manhatoes," were to be delivered up, and the military officers and soldiers were to "march out with their arms, drums beating, and colors flying, and lighted matches."

On the following Monday morning at eight o'clock Stuyvesant, at the head of the garrison, marched out of Fort Amsterdam with all the honors of war, and led his soldiers down the Beaver Lane to the water-side, whence they were embarked for Holland. An English corporal's guard at the same time took possession of the fort; and Nicolls and Carr, with their two companies, about a hundred seventy strong, entered the city, while Cartwright took possession of the gates and the Stadt-Huys. The New England and Long Island volunteers, however, were prudently kept at the Breuckelen ferry, as the citizens dreaded most being plundered by them. The English flag was hoisted on Fort Amsterdam, the name of which was immediately changed to "Fort James." Nicolls was now proclaimed by the burgomasters deputy-governor for the Duke of York, in compliment to whom he directed that the city of New Amsterdam should thenceforth be known as "New York."

THE PENALTY FOR NOT GOING TO CHURCH

By the County Court of Middlesex

NEW ENGLAND in its early days was governed by a theocracy; that is to say, by its clergymen. Even the magistrates were virtually appointed by the stern and godly pastors who, having won freedom of worship for themselves, were determined that no one else should have any other sort of freedom than they prescribed.

When any persons had the temerity to stay away from the Puritan services they were likely to be haled before the magistrates and punished both for non-attendance and for "schismatical" tendencies.

This account gives the proceedings against three who stayed away from the Puritan church and were tried by the county court sitting at Cambridge on April 17, 1666. In 1691, William III reorganized the country, abolished the religious qualification for voting, and established toleration (except with regard to Papists), thus overthrowing the temporal power of the clergy.

attended the worship of God together, and do judge themselves bound so to do, the ground whereof he said he gave in the general court.

THOMAS GOOLD, Thomas Osburne and John George being presented by the grand jury of this county for absenting themselves from the public worship of God on the Lord's day for one whole year now past, alleged respectively as followeth, viz.:

Thomas Osburne answered, that the reason of his non-attendance was, that the Lord hath discovered unto him from his word and spirit of truth that the society, wherewith he is now in communion, is more agreeable to the will of God, asserted that they were a church and at-

Thomas Goold answered, that as for coming to public worship they did meet in public worship according to the rule of Christ, the grounds whereof they had given to the court of assistants, asserted that they were a public meeting, according to the order of Christ Jesus gathered together.

John George answered, that he did attend the public meetings on the Lord's day where he was a member; asserted that they were a church according to the order of Christ in the gospel, and with them he walked and held communion in the public worship of God on the Lord's day.

Whereas at the general court in October last, and at the court of assistants in September last endeavors were used for their conviction. The order of the general court declaring the said Goold and company to be no orderly church assembly and that they stand convicted of high presumption against the Lord and his holy appointments was openly read to them and is on file with the records of this court.

The court sentenced the said Thomas Goold, Thomas Osburne and John George, for their absenting themselves from the public worship of God on the Lord's days, to pay four pounds fine, each of them, to the county order. And whereas by their own confessions they stand convicted of persisting in their schismatical assembling themselves together, to the great dishonor of God and our profession of his holy name, contrary to the act of the general court of October last prohibiting them therein on penalty

of imprisonment, this court doth order their giving bond respectively in 20 pounds each of them, for their appearance to answer their contempt at the next court of assistants.

The above named Thomas Goold, John George, and Thomas Osburne made their appeal to the next court of assistants, and refusing to put in security according to law were committed to prison.

MARQUETTE'S DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI

DE SOTO discovered the Mississippi River more than a hundred years before Marquette, but nothing came of his discovery. Marquette, accompanied by Joliet, prepared excellent maps and wrote descriptions of the new country, and as a result of their explorations, others followed who developed the Mississippi Valley.

They were four months on their expedition, during which time they paddled their canoes over 2500 miles. Marquette kept a daily record of their explorations, but his papers were lost on the return voyage up the Mississippi. He afterwards prepared from memory an account of their expedition, published under the title, "*Travels and Discoveries in North America*," from which this account is taken.

marked down the rivers, nations, and points of the compass to guide us in our journey. The first nation we came to was called the Folles-Avoines, or the nation of wild oats. I entered their river to visit them, as I had preached among them some years before. The wild oats, from which they derive their name, grow spontaneously in their country. . . .

I acquainted them with my design of discovering other nations, to preach to them the mysteries of our

I EMBARKED with M. Joliet, who had been chosen to conduct this enterprise, on the 13th May, 1673, with five other Frenchmen, in two bark canoes. We laid in some Indian corn and smoked beef for our voyage. We first took care, however, to draw from the Indians all the information we could, concerning the countries through which we designed to travel, and drew up a map, on which we

holy religion, at which they were much surprised, and said all they could to dissuade me from it. They told me I would meet Indians who spare no strangers, and whom they kill without any provocation or mercy; that the war they have one with the other would expose me to be taken by their warriors, as they are constantly on the look-out to surprise their enemies. That the Great River was exceedingly dangerous, and full of frightful monsters who devoured men and canoes together, and that the heat was so great that it would positively cause our death. I thanked them for their kind advice, but told them I would not follow it, as the salvation of a great many souls was concerned in our undertaking, for whom I should be glad to lose my life. I added that I defied their monsters, and their information would oblige us to keep more upon our guard to avoid a surprise. And having prayed with them, and given them some instructions, we set out for the Bay of Puan, where our missionaries had been successful in converting them. . . . The next day, being the 10th of June, the two guides [Miamies] embarked with us in sight of all the village, who were astonished at our attempting so dangerous an expedition. We were informed that at three leagues from the Maskoutens, we should find a river which runs into the Mississippi, and that we were to go to the west-south-west to find it, but there were so many marshes and lakes, that if it had not been for our guides we could not have found it. . . .

Before embarking we all offered up prayers to the Holy Virgin, which we continued to do every morning, placing ourselves and the events of the journey under her protection, and after having encouraged each other, we got into our canoes. The river upon which we embarked is called Mesconsin [Wisconsin]; the river is very wide, but the sand bars make it very difficult to navigate, which is increased by numerous islands covered with grape-vines. The country through which it flows is beautiful; the groves are so dispersed in the prairies that it makes a noble prospect; and the fruit of the trees shows a fertile soil. These groves are full of walnut, oak, and other trees unknown to us in Europe. We saw neither game nor fish, but roebuck and buffaloes in great numbers. After having navigated thirty leagues we discovered some iron mines, and one of our company who had seen such mines before, said these were very rich in ore. They are covered with about three feet of soil, and situate near a chain of rocks, whose base is covered with fine timber. After having rowed ten leagues farther, making forty leagues from the place where we had embarked we came into the Mississippi on the 17th of June [1673].

The mouth of the Mesconsin [Wisconsin] is in about $42\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N. lat. Behold us, then, upon this celebrated river, whose singularities I have attentively studied. The Mississippi takes its rise in several lakes in the North. Its channel is very narrow at the mouth of the Mesconsin, and runs south until it is affected

by very high hills. Its current is slow, because of its depth. In sounding we found nineteen fathoms of water. A little further on it widens nearly three-quarters of a league, and the width continues to be more equal. We slowly followed its course to the south and southeast to the 42° N. lat. Here we perceived the country change its appearance. There were scarcely any more woods or mountains. The islands are covered with fine trees, but we could not see any more roebucks, buffaloes, bustards, and swans. We met from time to time monstrous fish, which struck so violently against our canoes, that at first we took them to be large trees, which threatened to upset us. We saw also a hideous monster; his head was like that of a tiger, his nose was sharp, and somewhat resembled a wildcat; his beard was long; his ears stood upright; the color of his head was gray; and his neck black. He looked upon us for some time, but as we came near him our oars frightened him away. When we threw our nets into the water we caught an abundance of sturgeons, and another kind of fish like our trout, except that the eyes and nose are much smaller, and they have near the nose a bone like a woman's busk, three inches broad and a foot and a half long, the end of which is flat and broad, and when it leaps out of the water the weight of it throws it on its back.

Having descended the river as far as $41^{\circ} 28'$, we found that turkeys took the place of game, and the Pisikious that of other animals. We called the

Pisikious wild buffaloes, because they very much resemble our domestic oxen; they are not so long, but twice as large. We shot one of them, and it was as much as thirteen men could do to drag him from the place where he fell. . . .

We continued to descend the river, not knowing where we were going, and having made an hundred leagues without seeing anything but wild beasts and birds, and being on our guard we landed at night to make our fire and prepare our repast, and then left the shore to anchor in the river, while one of us watched by turns to prevent a surprise. We went south and southwest until we found ourselves in about the latitude of 40° and some minutes, having rowed more than sixty leagues since we entered the river.

We took leave of our guides about the end of June, and embarked in presence of all the village, who admired our birch canoes, as they had never before seen anything like them. We descended the river, looking for another called Pekitanoni [Missouri], which runs from the northwest into the Mississippi. . . .

As we were descending the river we saw high rocks with hideous monsters painted on them, and upon which the bravest Indians dare not look. They are as large as a calf, with head and horns like a goat; their eyes red; beard like a tiger's; and a face like a man's. Their tails are so long that they pass over their heads and between their fore legs, under their belly, and ending like a fish's tail. They are painted red, green, and black. They are so well drawn that

I cannot believe they were drawn by the Indians. And for what purpose they were made seems to me a great mystery. As we fell down the river, and while we were discoursing upon these monsters, we heard a great rushing and bubbling of waters, and small islands of floating trees coming from the mouth of the Pekitanoni [Missouri], with such rapidity that we could not trust ourselves to go near it. The water of this river is so muddy that we could not drink it. It so discolours the Mississippi as to make the navigation of it dangerous. This river comes from the northwest, and empties into the Mississippi, and on its banks are situated a number of Indian villages. We judged by the compass, that the Mississippi discharged itself into the Gulf of Mexico. It would, however, have been more agreeable if it had discharged itself into the South Sea or Gulf of California. . . .

Having satisfied ourselves that the Gulf of Mexico was in latitude $31^{\circ} 40'$, and that we could reach it in three or four days' journey from the Akansea [Arkansas River], and that the Mississippi discharged itself into it, and not to the eastward of the Cape of Florida, nor into the California Sea, we resolved to return home. We considered that the advantage of our travels would be altogether lost to our nation if we fell into the hands of the Spaniards, from whom we could expect no other treatment than death or slavery; besides, we saw that we were not prepared to resist the Indians, the allies of the Europeans, who continually infested the lower part of this river; we

therefore came to the conclusion to return, and make a report to those who had sent us. So that having rested another day, we left the village of the Akansea, on the seventeenth of July, 1673, having followed the Mississippi from the latitude 42° to 34° , and preached the Gospel to the utmost of my power, to the nations we visited. We then ascended the Mississippi with great difficulty against the current, and left it in the latitude of 38° north, to enter another river [Illinois], which took us to the lake of the Illinois [Michigan], which is a much shorter way than through the River Mesconsin [Wisconsin], by which we entered the Mississippi. . . .

THE DEATH OF MARQUETTE

By Father Claude Dablon

FATHER MAR-
QUETTE'S *narrative of his voyages and discoveries in the valley of the Mississippi was prepared for publication in 1678 by Father Claude Dablon, Superior of the Missions of the Society of Jesus in Canada. To this Father Dablon added the account given here of Marquette's death and burial.*

FATHER JAMES MAR-
QUETTE, having promised the Illinois, called Kaskaskia, to return among them to teach them our mysteries, had great difficulty in keeping his word. The great hardships of his first voyage had brought on a dysentery, and had so enfeebled him that

he lost all hope of undertaking a second voyage. Yet, his malady having given way and almost ceased toward the close of summer in the following year, he obtained permission of his superiors to return to the Illinois to found that noble mission.

He set out for this purpose in the month of November, 1674, from the Bay of the Fetid, with two men, one of whom had already made that voyage with him. During a month's navigation on the Illinois Lake he was pretty well; but, as soon as the snow began to fall, he was again seized with the dysentery, which forced him to stop in the river which leads to the Illinois. There they raised a cabin, and spent the winter in such want of every comfort that his illness constantly increased. He felt that God had granted him the grace he had so often asked, and he even

plainly told his companions so, assuring them that he would die of that illness and on that voyage. To prepare his soul for its departure, he began that rude wintering by the exercises of Saint Ignatius, which, in spite of his great bodily weakness, he performed with deep sentiments of devotion and great heavenly consolation; and then spent the rest of his time in colloquies with all heaven, having no more intercourse with earth amid these deserts, except with his two companions, whom he confessed and communicated twice a week, and exhorted as much as his strength allowed.

Some time after Christmas, in order to obtain the grace not to die without having taken possession of his beloved mission, he invited his companions to make a novena in honor of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. Contrary to all human expectation, he was heard, and, recovering, found himself able to proceed to the Illinois town as soon as navigation was free. This he accomplished in great joy, setting out on the 29th of March. He was eleven days on the way, where he had ample matter for suffering, both from his still sickly state and from the severity and inclemency of the weather.

Having at last reached the town on the 8th of April, he was received there as an angel from heaven; and after having several times assembled the chiefs of the nation with all the old men (*anciens*), to sow in their minds the first seed of the gospel, after carrying his instructions into the cabins, which were always

filled with crowds of people, he resolved to speak to all publicly in general assembly, which he convoked in the open fields, the cabins being too small for the meeting. A beautiful prairie near the town was chosen for the great council. It was adorned in the fashion of the country, being spread with mats and bear-skins; and the father, having hung on cords some pieces of India taffety, attached to them four large pictures of the Blessed Virgin, which were thus visible on all sides. The auditory was composed of five hundred chiefs and old men, seated in a circle around the father, while the youth stood without to the number of fifteen hundred, not counting women and children who are very numerous, the town being composed of five or six hundred fires.

The father spoke to all this gathering, and addressed them ten words by ten presents which he made them; he explained to them the principal mysteries of our religion, and the end for which he had come to their country; and especially he preached to them Christ crucified, for it was the very eve of the great day on which he died on the cross for them, as well as for the rest of men. He then said mass.

Three days after, on Easter Sunday, things being arranged in the same manner as on Thursday, he celebrated the holy mysteries for the second time; and by these two sacrifices, the first ever offered there to God, he took possession of that land in the name of Jesus Christ, and gave this mission the name of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin.

He was listened to with universal joy and approbation by all this people, who earnestly besought him to return as soon as possible among them, since his malady obliged him to leave them. The father, on his part, showed them the affection he bore them, his satisfaction at their conduct, and gave his word that he or some other of our fathers would return to continue this mission so happily begun. This promise he repeated again and again, on parting with them to begin his journey. He set out amid such marks of friendship from these good people that they escorted him with pomp more than thirty leagues of the way, contending with one another for the honor of carrying his little baggage.

AFTER the Illinois had taken leave of the father, filled with a great idea of the gospel, he continued his voyage, and soon after reached the Illinois Lake, on which he had nearly a hundred leagues to make by an unknown route, because he was obliged to take the southern [eastern] side of the lake, having gone thither by the northern [western]. His strength, however, failed so much that his men despaired of being able to carry him alive to their journey's end; for, in fact, he became so weak and exhausted that he could no longer help himself, nor even stir, and had to be handled and carried like a child.

He nevertheless maintained in this state an admirable equanimity, joy, and gentleness, consoling

his beloved companions and encouraging them to suffer courageously all the hardships of the way, assuring them that our Lord would not forsake them when he was gone. During this navigation he began to prepare more particularly for death, passing his time in colloquies with our Lord, with His holy mother, with his angel-guardian, or with all heaven. He was often heard pronouncing these words: "I believe that my Redeemer liveth," or "Mary, mother of grace, mother of God, remember me." Besides a spiritual reading made for him every day, he toward the close asked them to read him his meditation on the preparation of death, which he carried about him. He recited his breviary every day; and, although he was so low that both sight and strength had greatly failed, he did not omit it till the last day of his life, when his companions induced him to cease, as it was shortening his days.

A week before his death he had the precaution to bless some holy water, to serve him during the rest of his illness, in his agony, and at his burial; and he instructed his companions how to use it.

The eve of his death, which was a Friday, he told them, all radiant with joy, that it would take place on the morrow. During the whole day he conversed with them about the manner of his burial, the way in which he should be laid out, the place to be selected for his interment; he told them how to arrange his hands, feet, and face, and directed them to raise a cross over his grave. He even went so far as to en-

join them, only three hours before he expired, to take his chapel-bell, as soon as he was dead, and ring it while they carried him to the grave. Of all this he spoke so calmly and collectedly that you would have thought that he spoke of the death and burial of another, and not of his own.

Thus did he speak with them as they sailed along the lake, till, perceiving the mouth of a river with an eminence on the bank which he thought suited for his burial, he told them that it was the place of his last repose. They wished, however, to pass on, as the weather permitted it and the day was not far advanced; but God raised a contrary wind which obliged them to return and enter the river pointed out by Father Marquette.

They then carried him ashore, kindled a little fire, and raised for him a wretched bark cabin, where they laid him as little uncomfortably as they could; but they were so overcome by sadness that, as they afterward said, they did not know what they were doing.

The father being thus stretched on the shore, like Saint Francis Xavier, as he had always so ardently desired, and felt alone amid those forests,—for his companions were engaged in unloading,—he had leisure to repeat all the acts in which he had employed himself during the preceding days.

When his dear companions afterward came up all dejected, he consoled them, and gave them hopes that God would take care of them after his death in those new and unknown countries. He gave them his last

instructions, thanked them for all the charity they had shown him during the voyage, begged their pardon for the trouble he had given them, and directed them also to ask pardon in his name of all our fathers and brothers in the Ottawa country, and then disposed them to receive the sacrament of penance, which he administered to them for the last time. He also gave them a paper on which he had written all his faults since his last confession, to be given to his superior to oblige him to pray more earnestly for him. In fine, he promised not to forget them in heaven; and, as he was very kind-hearted and knew them to be worn out with the toil of the preceding days, he bade them go and take a little rest, assuring them that his hour was not yet so near but that he would wake them when it was time, as in fact he did two or three hours after, calling them when about to enter his agony.

When they came near, he embraced them for the last time, while they melted in tears at his feet. He then asked for the holy water and his reliquary, and, taking off his crucifix, which he wore around his neck, he placed it in the hands of one, asking him to hold it constantly opposite him, raised before his eyes. Then, feeling that he had but a little time to live, he made a last effort, clasped his hands; and, with his eyes fixed sweetly on his crucifix, he pronounced aloud his profession of faith, and thanked the Divine Majesty for the immense grace he did him in allowing him to die in the society of Jesus,—to die in it as a missionary

of Jesus Christ, and above all, to die in it, as he had always asked, in a wretched cabin amid the forests, destitute of all human aid.

On this he became silent, conversing inwardly with God; yet from time to time words escaped him: "Sustinuit anima mea in verba ejus," or "Mater Dei, memento mei," which were the last words he uttered before entering on his agony, which was very calm and gentle.

He had prayed his companions to remind him, when they saw him about to expire, to pronounce frequently the names of Jesus and Mary. When he could not do it himself, they did it for him; and, when they thought him about to pass, one cried aloud, "Jesus Maria," which he several times repeated distinctly, and then, as if at those sacred names something had appeared to him, he suddenly raised his eyes above his crucifix, fixing them apparently on some object which he seemed to regard with pleasure, and thus with a countenance all radiant with smiles he expired without a struggle, as gently as if he had sunk into a quiet sleep.

His two poor companions, after shedding many tears over his body, and having laid it out as he had directed, carried it devoutly to the grave, ringing the bell according to his injunction, and raised a large cross near it to serve as a mark for passers-by.

THE OUTBREAK OF KING PHILIP'S WAR

By the Reverend William Hubbard

KING PHILIP, as the colonists nick-named him because of his haughty spirit, was a son of the famous Massasoit, who, in alliance with the Narragansetts, waged the first war between the Indians and Plymouth Colony. The Indians never met the colonists in battle, but abandoned themselves to fire and massacre.

Governor Winslow, in 1675, led a force of 1000 men against the allies, slew 500 warriors and about twice as many women and children. In retaliation the Indians massacred by wholesale. Rewards were paid for every Indian killed in battle, and many squaws and papooses were captured and sold into slavery. During the war 600 colonists were killed and 13 towns destroyed. Of the two once powerful tribes, less than 200 individuals survived.

William Hubbard, the writer of this article, was one of the first class to graduate from Harvard College. He had no superior as a writer among his contemporaries.

THE occasion of Philips so sudden taking up arms was this: There was one John Sausaman a very cunning and plausible Indian, well skilled in the English language, and bred up in the Christian religion, employed as a schoolmaster at Natick, the Indian town, who upon some misdemeanor fled from his place to Philip, whose Secretary and Chief Counselor he became. But afterwards, whether upon the sting of his own conscience, or by the frequent solicitations of Mr. Eliot, that had known him from a child, and in-

structed him in the principles of our religion, who was often laying before him the heinous sin of his apostacy, and returning back to his old vomit, he was at last prevailed with to forsake Philip, and return

to the Christian Indians at Natick where he was baptized, manifested public repentance for all his former offenses, and made a serious profession of the Christian religion: and did apply himself to preach to the Indians, wherein he was better gifted than any other of the Indian Nation; so as he was observed to conform more to the English manners than any other Indian.

Yet having occasion to go up with some others of his countrymen to Namasket, whether for the advantage of fishing or some such occasion, it matters not; being there not far from Philip's country, he had occasion to be much in the company of Philip's Indians, and of Philip himself: by which means he discerned by several circumstances that the Indians were plotting anew against us; the which out of faithfulness to the English the said Sausaman informed the Governor of; adding also, that if it were known that he revealed it, he knew they would presently kill him. There appearing so many concurrent testimonies from others, making it the more probable, that there was certain truth in the information; some inquiry was made into the business, by examining Philip himself, several of his Indians, who although they could do nothing, yet could not free themselves from just suspicion; Philip therefore soon after contrived the said Sausaman's death, which was strangely discovered; notwithstanding it was so cunningly effected, for they that murdered him, met him upon

the ice on a great pond, and presently after they had knocked him down, put him under the ice, yet leaving his gun and his hat upon the ice, that it might be thought he fell accidentally through the ice and was drowned: but being missed by his friend, who finding his hat and gun, they were thereby led to the place where his body was found under the ice. When they took it up to bury him, some of his friends, especially one David, observed some bruises about his head, which made them suspect he was knocked down before he was put into the water. However, they buried him near about the place where he was found, without making any further inquiry at present: nevertheless David, his friend, reported these things to some English at Taunton (a town not far from Namasket), occasioned the Governor to inquire further into the business, wisely considering, that as Sausaman had told him, if it were known that he had revealed any of their plots, they would murder him for his pains.

Wherefore by special warrant the body of Sausaman being digged again out of his grave, it was very apparent that he had been killed, and not drowned. And by a strange Providence an Indian was found, that by accident was standing unseen upon a hill, had seen them murder the said Sausaman, but durst never reveal it for fear of losing his own life likewise, until he was called to the Court at Plymouth, or before the Governor, where he plainly confessed what he had seen. The murderers being apprehended,

were convicted by his undeniable testimony, and other remarkable circumstances, and so were all put to death, being three in number; the last of them confessed immediately before his death, that his father (one of the counsellors and special friends of Philip) was one of the two that murdered Sausaman, himself only looking on.

This was done at Plymouth Court, held in June 1674. Insomuch that Philip apprehending the danger his own head was in next, never used any further means to clear himself from what was like to be laid to his charge, either about his plotting against the English, nor yet about Sausaman's death: but by keeping his men continually about him in arms, and gathering what strangers he could to join with him, marching up and down constantly in arms, both all the while the Court sat, as well as afterwards.

The English of Plymouth hearing of all this, yet took no further notice than only to order a militia watch in all the adjacent towns, hoping that Philip finding himself not likely to be arraigned by order of the said Court, the present cloud might blow over, as some others of like nature had done before; but in conclusion, the matter proved otherwise; for Philip finding his strength daily increasing, by the flocking of neighbor Indians unto him, and sending over their wives and children to the Narragansetts for security (as they use to do when they intend war with any of their enemies,) immediately they began to alarm the English at Swanzy (the next town to Philip's coun-

try,) as it were daring the English to begin; at last their insolencies grew to such a height that they began not only to use threatening words to the English, but also to kill their cattle and rifle their houses; whereat an Englishman was so provoked that he let fly a gun at an Indian, but did only wound, not kill him; whereupon the Indians immediately began to kill all the English they could, so as on the 24th of June, 1675, was the alarm of war first sounded in Plymouth Colony, when eight or nine of the English were slain in and about Swanzy, they first making a shot at a company of English as they returned from the Assembly where they were met in way of humiliation that day, whereby they killed one and wounded others. At the same time, they slew two men on the highway sent to call a surgeon, and barbarously the same day murdered six men in and about a dwelling-house in another part of the town: all which outrages were committed so suddenly that the English had no time to make any resistance. . . .

However the Governor and Council of Plymouth, understanding that Philip continued in his revolution, and manifested no inclination to peace, immediately sent us what forces they could to secure the towns thereabouts, and make resistance as occasion might be: and also dispatched away messengers to the Massachusetts Governor and Council, letting them know the state of things about Mount Hope; and desiring their speedy assistance, upon which, care was immediately taken with all expedition to send such

supplies as were desired. . . . At Woodcok's House, thirty miles from Boston, where they arrived next morning, they retarded their motion till the afternoon, in hope of being overtaken by a company of volunteers under Captain Samuel Mosely, which accordingly came to pass; so as on June 28 they all arrived at Swanzy, within a quarter of a mile of the bridge leading into Philip's Lands. Some little time before night, twelve of the troopers, unwilling to lose time, passed over the bridge for discovery into the enemies territories, where they found the rude welcome of eight or ten Indians firing upon them out of the bushes, killing one William Hammond, wounding Corporal Belcher, his horse also being shot down under him; the rest of the said troopers having discharged upon those Indians that ran away after their first shot carried off their dead and wounded companions. . . .

The enemy thought to have braved it out by a bold assault or two at the first; but their hearts soon began to fail them when they perceived the Massachusetts and Plymouth forces both engaged against them . . . and a resolute charge of the English forces upon the enemy made them quit their place on Mount Hope that very night, where Philip was never seen after, till the next year, when he was by a divine mandate sent back, there to receive the reward of his wickedness where he first began his mischief.

THE DEATH OF KING PHILIP

By Captain Benjamin Church

CAPTAIN BENJAMIN CHURCH was the General Custer, or rather Nelson A. Miles, of his day, and particularly was the nemesis of the Indian sachem Metacomet, oppositely known to the early New England colonists as King Philip. His "Entertaining Passages Relating to Philip's War—as also of Expeditions more lately made against the Common Enemy in the Eastern Parts of New England," written in the third person and described as "a soldier's bluff narrative of his own dangerous and enticing adventures," was widely read during the colonial period.

In his account of the death of King Philip, Captain Church neglects to say that Philip's body was quartered, on a Thanksgiving Day especially appointed, and his head, at first given to the Indian who shot him, was gibbeted in Plymouth.

HAVING located Philip's headquarters on a spot of upland at the south end of a miry swamp, Captain Church [who used the third person in writing this account] went down to the swamp, and gave Captain Williams of Scituate command of the right wing of the ambush, and placed an Englishman and an Indian together behind such shelters of trees, etc., as he could find, and took care to place them at such distance that none might pass undiscovered between them; charged

them to be careful of themselves, and of hurting their friends, and to fire at any that should come silently through the swamp. But it being somewhat farther through the swamp than he was aware of, he wanted men to make up his ambuscade.

Having placed what men he had, he took Major Sanford by the hand, and said, "Sir, I have so placed them that it is scarce possible Philip should escape them." The same moment a shot whistled over their heads, and then the noise of a gun towards Philip's camp. Captain Church, at first, thought it might be some gun fired by accident; but, before he could speak, a whole volley followed, which was earlier than he expected. One of Philip's gang going forth to ease himself, when he had done, looked round him, and Captain Golding thought that the Indian looked right at him, (though probably it was but his conceit); so fired at him; and upon his firing, the whole company that were with him fired upon the enemy's shelter, before the Indians had time to rise from their sleep, and so over-shot them. But their shelter was open on that side next the swamp, built so on purpose for the convenience of flight on occasion. They were soon in the swamp, and Philip the foremost, who, starting at the first gun, threw his petunk and powderhorn over his head, caught up his gun, and ran as fast as he could scamper, without any more clothes than his small breeches and stockings; and ran directly upon two of Captain Church's ambush. They let him come fair within shot, and the Englishman's gun missing fire, he bid the Indian fire away, and he did so to the purpose; sent one musket bullet through his heart, and another not above two inches from it. He fell upon his face in the mud and water, with his gun under him.

By this time the enemy perceived they were way-laid on the east side of the swamp, and tacked short about. One of the enemy, who seemed to be a great, surly old fellow, hallooed with a loud voice, and often called out, "lootash, lootash." Captain Church called to his Indian, Peter, and asked him, who that was that called so? He answered, it was old Annawon, Philip's great captain; calling on his soldiers to stand to it, and fight stoutly. Now the enemy finding that place of the swamp which was not ambushed, many of them made their escape in the English tracks.

The man that had shot down Philip ran with all speed to Captain Church, and informed him of his exploit, who commanded him to be silent about it and let no man more know it, until they had driven the swamp clean. But when they had driven the swamp through, and found the enemy had escaped, or, at least, the most of them, and the sun now up, and so the dew gone, that they could not easily track them, the whole company met together at the place where the enemy's night shelter was, and then Captain Church gave them the news of Philip's death. Upon which the whole army gave three loud huzzas.

Captain Church ordered his body to be pulled out of the mire on to the upland. So some of Captain Church's Indians took hold of him by his stockings, and some by his small breeches (being otherwise naked) and drew him through the mud to the upland; and a doleful, great, naked, dirty beast he looked like. Captain Church then said that, forasmuch as

he had caused many an Englishman's body to lie unburied, and rot above ground, not one of his bones should be buried. And, calling his old Indian executioner, bid him behead and quarter him. Accordingly he came with his hatchet and stood over him, but before he struck he made a small speech directing it to Philip, and said, "he had been a very great man, and had made many a man afraid of him, but so big as he was, he would now chop him to pieces." And so went to work and did as he was ordered.

Philip, having one very remarkable hand, being much scarred, occasioned by the splitting of a pistol in it formerly, Captain Church gave the head and that hand to Alderman, the Indian who shot him, to show to such gentlemen as would bestow gratuities upon him; and accordingly he got many a penny by it.

This being on the last day of the week, the Captain with his company, returned to the island, tarried there until Tuesday; and then went off and ranged through all the woods to Plymouth, and received their premium, which was thirty shillings per head, for the enemies which they had killed or taken, instead of all wages; and Philip's head went at the same price. Methinks it is scanty reward, and poor encouragement; though it was better than what had been some time before. For this march they received four shillings and sixpence a man, which was all the reward they had, except the honor of killing Philip. This was in the latter end of August, 1676.

BACON'S REBELLION

THE anonymous but well-informed author of this account of the Virginia rebellion published his defense of Bacon in London within a year after the events described. He speaks as well as he dares of the Virginia "rebel," but the passions involved had not yet cooled sufficiently for real candor.

The facts were that Sir William Berkeley, the Governor, temporized with the Indian uprising of 1675, and the indignant Virginian colonists elected Bacon to lead them against the redskins. The Governor refused to commission him, and declared him a rebel. But Bacon marched on Jamestown and obtained his commission at the point of his sword.

He also obtained the dissolution of the Royal Assembly. "Bacon's Assembly," following, levied taxes, extended the suffrage to freemen, and grew so defiant that the Governor dissolved it. Meanwhile Bacon had died in his bed. This rebellion is one of the earliest of the revolts against the Crown and its Officers which paved the way for the American Revolution.

in the history of his life as not to rob him of those commendations which his birth and acquisitions claim as due, and so kind both to loyalty and the wholesome

THERE is no nation this day under the copes of Heaven can so experimentally speak the sad effects of men of great parts being reduced to necessity, as England; but not to rake up the notorious misdemeanors of the dead, I shall endeavor to prevent the sad effects of so deplorable a cause, by giving you an account of the remarkable life and death of this gentleman of whom I am about to discourse. And because when a man has once engaged himself in an ill action, all men are ready to heap innumerable aspersions upon him, of which he is no ways guilty, I shall be so just

constituted laws of our kingdom, as not to smother anything which would render him to blame.

This gentleman who has of late beckoned the attention of all men of understanding who are any ways desirous of novelty, [or] care what becomes of any part of the world besides that themselves live in, had the honor to be descended of an ancient and honorable family, his name Nathaniel Bacon, to whom to the long known title of gentleman, by his long study [at] the Inns of Court he has since added that of Esquire. He was the son of Mr. Thomas Bacon of an ancient seat known by the denomination of Freestone-Hall, in the County of Suffolk, a gentleman of known loyalty and ability. His father as he was able so he was willing to allow this his son a very gentle competency to subsist upon, but he as it proved having a soul too large for that allowance, could not contain himself within bounds; which his careful father perceiving, and also that he had a mind to travel (having seen divers parts of the world before) consented to his inclination of going to Virginia, and accommodated him with a stock for that purpose, to the value of 1,800 pounds sterling, as I am credibly informed by a merchant of very good wealth, who is now in this city, and had the fortune to carry him thither.

He began his voyage thitherwards about three years since, and lived for about a year's space in that continent in very good repute, his extraordinary parts like a letter of recommendation rendering him acceptable in all men's company, while his considerable

concerns in that place were able to bear him out in the best of society. These accomplishments of mind and fortune rendered him so remarkable, that the worthy Governor of that continent thought it requisite to take him into his Privy Council.

That plantation which he chose to settle in is generally known by the name of Curles, situate in the upper part of James river and the time of his revolt was not till the beginning of March, 1675-6. At which time the Susquehannock Indians (a known enemy to that country) having made an insurrection, and killed divers of the English, among whom it was his misfortune to have a servant slain; in revenge of whose death, and other damage(s) he received from those turbulent Susquehannocks, without the Governor's consent he furiously took up arms against them, and was so fortunate as to put them to flight, but not content therewith; the aforesaid Governor hearing of his eager pursuit after the vanquished Indians, sent out a select company of soldiers to command him to desist; but he instead of listening thereunto, persisted in his revenge, and sent to the Governor to entreat his commission, that he might more cheerfully prosecute his design; which being denied him by the messenger he sent for that purpose, he notwithstanding continued to make head with his own servants, and other English then resident in Curles against them.

In this interim the people of Henrica had returned him Burgess of their county; and he in order thereunto took his own sloop and came down towards

James Town, conducted by thirty odd Soldiers, with part of which he came ashore to Mr. Laurence's house, to understand whether he might come in with safety or not, but being discovered by one Parson Clough, and also it being perceived that he had lined the bushes of the said town with soldiers, the Governor thereupon ordered an alarm to be beaten through the whole town, which took so hot, that Bacon thinking himself not secure while he remained there within reach of their fort, immediately commanded his men aboard, and towed his sloop up the river; which the Governor perceiving, ordered the ships which lay at Sandy-point to pursue and take him; and they by the industry of their commanders succeeded so well in the attempt, that they presently stopped his passage; so that Mr. Bacon finding himself pursued both before and behind, after some capitulations, quietly surrendered himself prisoner to the Governor's commissioners, to the great satisfaction of all his friends; which action of his was so obliging to the Governor, that he granted him his liberty immediately upon parol, without confining him either to prison or chamber, and the next day, after some private discourse passed betwixt the Governor, the Privy Council and himself, he was amply restored to all his former honors and dignities, and a commission partly promised him to be General against the Indian army; but upon further inquiry into his affairs it was not thought fit to be granted him; whereat his ambitious mind seemed mightily to be displeased; insomuch that he

gave out, that it was his intention to sell his whole concerns in Virginia, and to go with his whole family to live either in Maryland or the south, because he would avoid (as he said) the scandal of being accounted a factious person there.

But his resolution it seems was but a pretense, for afterwards he headed the same runnagado English that he formerly found ready to undertake and go sharers with him in any of his rebellions, and adding to them the assistance of his own slaves and servants, headed them so far till they touched at the Occonegie's town, where he was treated very civilly, and by the inhabitants informed where some of the Susquehannock's were inforted, whom presently he assails, and after he had vanquished them, slew about seventy of them in their Fort: But as he returned back to the Occoneges, he found they had fortified themselves with divers more Indians than they had at his first arrival; wherefore he desired hostages of them for their good behavior, while he and his followers lay within command of their fort. But those treacherous Indians grown confident by reason of their late recruit, returned him this answer, that their guns were the only hostages he was like to have of them, and if he would have them he must fetch them. Which was no sooner spoken, but the Indians sallied out of the fort and shot one of his sentinels, whereupon he charged them so fiercely, that the fight continued not only all that day, but the next also, till the approach of the evening, at which time finding his men grow faint for want of

provision, he laid hold of the opportunity, being befriended by a gloomy night, and so made an honorable retreat homewards. Howbeit we may judge what respect he had gained in James Town by this subsequent transaction.

When he was first brought hither it was frequently reported among the commonalty that he was kept close prisoner, which report caused the people of that town, those of Charles city, Henrico, and New-Kent Countries, being in all about the number of eight hundred, or a thousand, to rise and march thitherwards in order to his rescue; whereupon the Governor was forced to desire Mr. Bacon to go himself in person, and by his open appearance quiet the people.

This being past, Mr. Bacon, about the 25th of June last, dissatisfied that he could not have a commission granted him to go against the Indians, in the night time departed the town unknown to anybody, and about a week after got together between four and five hundred men of New-Kent County, with whom he marched to James Town, and drew up in order before the House of State; and there peremptorily demanded of the Governor, Council and Burgesses (there then collected) a commission to go against the Indians, which if they should refuse to grant him, he told them that neither he nor e'er a man in his company would depart from their doors till he had obtained his request; whereupon to prevent farther danger in so great an exigence, the Council and Burgesses by much entreaty obtained him a commission

signed by the Governor, an act for one thousand men to be listed under his command to go against the Indians, to whom the same pay was to be granted as was allowed to them who went against the fort. But Bacon was not satisfied with this, but afterwards earnestly importuned, and at length obtained of the house, to pass an act of indemnity to all persons who had sided with him, and also letters of recommendations from the Governor to his Majesty in his behalf; and moreover caused Colonel Claybourne and his son, Captain Claybourne, Lieutenant Colonel West, and Lieutenant Colonel Hill, and many others, to be degraded for ever bearing any office, whether it were military or civil.

Having obtained these large civilities of the Governor, etc., one would have thought that if the principles of honesty would not have obliged him to peace and loyalty, those of gratitude should. But, alas, when men have been once flushed or entered with vice, how hard is it for them to leave it, especially it tends towards ambition or greatness, which is the general lust of a large soul, and the common error of vast parts, which fix their eyes so upon the lure of greatness, that they have no time left them to consider by what indirect and unlawful means they must (if ever) attain it.

This certainly was Mr. Bacon's crime, who, after he had once launched into rebellion, nay, and upon submission had been pardoned for it, and also restored, as if he had committed no such heinous

offense, to his former honor and dignities (which were considerable enough to content any reasonable mind) yet for all this he could not forbear wading into his former misdemeanors, and continued his opposition against that prudent and established government, ordered by his Majesty of Great Britain to be duly observed in that continent.

In fine, he continued (I cannot say properly in the fields, but) in the woods with a considerable army all last summer, and maintained several brushes with the Governor's party: sometime routing them, and burning all before him, to the great damage of many of his Majesty's loyal subjects there resident; sometimes he and his rebels were beaten by the Governor, etc., and forced to run for shelter among the woods and swamps. In which lamentable condition that unhappy continent has remained for the space of almost a twelve-month, every one therein that were able being forced to take up arms for security of their own lives, and no one reckoning their goods, wives, or children to be their own, since they were so dangerously exposed to the doubtful accidents of an uncertain war.

But the indulgent Heavens, who are alone able to compute what measure of punishments are adequate or fit for the sins or transgressions of a nation, has in its great mercy thought fit to put a stop, at least, if not a total period and conclusion to these Virginian troubles, by the death of this Nathaniel Bacon, the great molester of the quiet of that miserable nation.

DISCOVERY OF NIAGARA FALLS

By Father Louis Hennepin

FATHER HENNEPIN may not have been the first white man to view Niagara Falls but he wrote the first description of it that has come down to us.

Louis Hennepin was born in Belgium in 1640, and came to America in 1678, three years after the death of Marquette. He joined La Salle's famous expedition on his arrival in Quebec and was sent in advance by La Salle to Fort Frontenac on Lake Ontario to smooth the way with the Indians for La Salle and his party. From Fort Frontenac, Hennepin proceeded with his small company to Niagara and it was then that he discovered Niagara Falls.

Hennepin's accounts of his travels and adventures in America must be taken with reservations. His description given here is an example of his proneness to exaggerate. He estimates the height of the falls as "above 600 feet" when as a matter of fact they are only 167 feet high.

BETWIXT the Lakes Ontario and Erie, there is a vast and prodigious cadence of water which falls down after a surprising and astonishing manner, insomuch that the universe does not afford its parallel. 'Tis true, Italy and Suedeland boast of some such things; but we may well say they are but sorry patterns, when compared to this of which we now speak. At the foot of this horrible precipice, we meet with the river Niagara, which is not above half a quarter of a league broad, but is wonderfully deep in some places. It

is so rapid above this descent, that it violently hurries down the wild beasts while endeavoring to pass it to feed on the other side, they not being able to with-

stand the force of its current, which inevitably casts them down headlong above six hundred foot.

This wonderful downfall is compounded of two great cross-streams of water, and two falls, with an isle sloping along the middle of it. The waters which fall from this vast height, do foam and boil after the most hideous manner imaginable, making an outrageous noise, more terrible than that of thunder; for when the wind blows from off the south, their dismal roaring may be heard above fifteen leagues off.

The river Niagara having thrown itself down this incredible precipice, continues its impetuous course for two leagues together, to the great rock above mentioned, with an inexpressible rapidity: But having passed that, its impetuosity relents, gliding along more gently for two leagues, till it arrives at the Lake Ontario, or Frontenac.

Any bark or greater vessel may pass from the fort to the foot of this huge rock above mentioned. This rock lies to the westward, and is cut off from the land by the river Niagara, about two leagues farther down than the great fall; for which two leagues the people are obliged to carry their goods over-land; but the way is very good, and the trees are but few, and they chiefly firs and oaks.

From the great fall unto this rock, which is to the west of the river, the two brinks of it are so prodigious high, that it would make one tremble to look steadily upon the water, rolling along with a rapidity not to be imagined. Were it not for this vast cataract, which

interrupts navigation, they might sail with barks or greater vessels, above four hundred and fifty leagues further, cross the Lake of Hurons, and up to the farther end of the Lake Illinois (Michigan); which two lakes we may well say are little seas of fresh water.

THE FAMOUS CHARTER OAK AFFAIR

By Alexander Johnston, Connecticut Historian

AFTER the charters of the New England provinces had been declared forfeited by the English courts in 1686, steps were taken to consolidate them into one province, with Sir Edmund Andros, former colonial Governor of New York, as Governor-General with large powers. He was to admit religious toleration, but could suppress all printing, name and change his council at will, and, with their consent, levy taxes and control the militia.

Connecticut was the first colony that refused to recognize his authority, and it was this defiance that brought about the charter oak episode of tradition. Later all the colonies under his jurisdiction revolted concurrently, and Andros was imprisoned in Boston in 1689.

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IN DECEMBER, 1686, the Hartford authorities were called upon to measure their strength again with their old antagonist, Sir Edmund Andros. Andros had landed at Boston, commissioned as governor of all New England, and bent on abrogating the charters. Following Joseph Dudley's [a colonial Governor of Massachusetts] lead, he wrote to Robert Treat [a colonial Governor of Connecticut, whose term of office was interrupted by Andros], suggesting that by this time the trial of the writs

had certainly gone against the colony; and that the authorities would do much to commend the colony to his majesty's good pleasure by entering a formal surrender of the charter. The colony authorities were possibly as well versed in the law of the case as

Andros, and they took good care to do nothing of the sort; and, as the event showed, they thus saved the charter.

The assembly met as usual in October, 1687; but their records show that they were in profound doubt and distress. Andros was with them, accompanied by some sixty regular soldiers, to enforce his demand for the charter. It is certain that he did not get it, though the records, as usual, are cautious enough to give no reason why. Tradition is responsible for the story of the charter oak. The assembly had met the royal governor in the meeting-house; the demand for the charter had been made; and the assembly had exhausted the resources of language to show to Andros how dear it was to them, and how impossible it was to give it up. Andros was immovable; he had watched that charter with longing eyes from the banks of the Hudson, and he had no intention of giving up his object now that the king had put him in power on the banks of the Connecticut.

Toward evening the case had become desperate. The little democracy was at last driven into a corner, where its old policy seemed no longer available; it must resist openly, or make a formal surrender of its charter. Just as the lights were lighted, the legal authorities yielded so far as to order the precious document to be brought in and laid on the table before the eyes of Andros. Then came a little more debate. Suddenly the lights were blown out; Captain Wadsworth, of Hartford, carried off the charter, and hid it

in a hollow oak-tree on the estate of the Wyllyses, just across the "riveret"; and when the lights were relighted the colony was no longer able to comply with Andros's demand for a surrender.

Although the account of the affair is traditional, it is difficult to see any good grounds for impeaching it on that account. It supplies, in the simplest and most natural manner, a blank in the Hartford proceedings of Andros which would otherwise be quite unaccountable. His plain purpose was to force Connecticut into a position where she must either surrender the charter or resist openly. He failed: the charter never was in his possession; and the official records assign no reason for his failure. The colony was too prudent, and Andros too proud to put the true reason on record. Tradition supplies the gap with an exactness which proves itself.

Having done all that men could do, Treat and his associates bowed for the time to superior force. Andros was allowed to read his commission, and Treat, Fitz-John and Wait Winthrop, and John Allyn received appointments as members of his council for New England. John Allyn made what the governor doubtless considered to be the closing record for all time. But it is noteworthy that the record was so written as to flatter Andros's vanity, while it really put in terms a declaration of overpowering force, on which the commonwealth finally succeeded in saving her charter from invalidation. It is as follows:

"At a General Court at Hartford, October 31st, 1687, his excellency, Sir Edmund Andross, knight and Captain General and Governor of His Majesty's territories and dominions in New England, by order of His Majesty James the Second, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, the 31st of October, 1687, took into his hands the government of the colony of Connecticut, it being by His Majesty annexed to Massachusetts and other colonies under his excellency's government.

"Finis."

The government was destined to last far longer than either the governor or his government. But, while it lasted, Andros's government was bitterly hated, and with good reason. The reasons are more peculiarly appropriate to the history of Massachusetts, where they were felt more keenly than in Connecticut; but even in Connecticut, poor as was the field for plunder, and distant as it was from the "ring" which surrounded Andros, the exactions of the new system were well-nigh intolerable to a people whose annual expense of government had been carefully kept down to the lowest limits, so that, says Bancroft, they "did not exceed four thousand dollars; and the wages of the chief justice were ten shillings a day while on service." . . .

April, 1689, came at last. The people of Boston, at the first news of the English Revolution, clapped Andros into custody. May 9, the old Connecticut authorities quietly resumed their functions, and called

the assembly together for the following month. William and Mary were proclaimed with great favor. Not a word was said about the disappearance or reappearance of the charter; but the charter government was put into full effect again, as if Andros had never interrupted it. An address was sent to the king, asking that the charter be no further interfered with; but operations under it went on as before. No decided action was taken by the home government for some years, except that its appointment of the New York governor, Fletcher, to the command of the Connecticut militia, implied a decision that the Connecticut charter had been superseded.

Late in 1693 Fitz-John Winthrop was sent to England as agent to obtain a confirmation of the charter. He secured an emphatic legal opinion from Attorney General Somers, backed by those of Treby and Ward, that the charter was entirely valid. . . . It had escaped its enemies at last and its escape is a monument of one of the advantages of a real democracy.

DESCRIPTION OF PENNSYLVANIA

By William Penn

WILLIAM PENN was the son of the English Admiral who added Jamaica to the British Empire. He became a fighting Quaker at Christ's Church, Oxford, and was expelled from college for tearing off a "papistical" surplice worn by a fellow student.

Sent by his father to the Continent to travel and broaden his mind, he became a frequent visitor at the court of Louis XIV. He became more tolerant but his Quakerism lost none of its fire, and he was frequently thrown into the Tower for his religious writings. In each case, his release was quickly procured.

He paid several visits to the vast property in the New World which he obtained from the Crown in discharge of a debt of £16,000 owed to his father's estate, and his wise direction of provincial affairs deserves the highest praise. The description of Pennsylvania given here was a sort of prospectus, intended to attract new settlers.

THE first planters in these parts were the Dutch, and soon after them the Swedes and Finns. The Dutch applied themselves to traffic, the Swedes and Finns to husbandry. There were some disputes between them some years, the Dutch looking upon them as intruders upon their purchase and possession, which was finally ended in the surrender made by John Rizeing, the Swedish governor, to Peter Stuyvesant, governor for the states of Holland, anno 1655.

The Dutch inhabit mostly those parts of the province that lie upon or near to the bay; and the Swedes the freshes of the river Delaware. There is no need of giving any description of them, who are better known there than here; but they are a plain,

strong, industrious people, yet have made no great progress in culture or propagation of fruit-trees, as if they desired rather to have enough, than plenty or traffic. But, I presume, the Indians made them the more careless, by furnishing them with the means of profit, to wit, skins and furs, for rum, and such strong liquors. They kindly received me, as well as the English, who were few, before the people concerned with me came among them: I must needs commend their respect to authority, and kind behavior to the English; they do not degenerate from the old friendship between both kingdoms. As they are people proper, and strong of body, so they have fine children, and almost every house full; rare to find one of them without three or four boys, and as many girls; some six, seven, and eight sons: and I must do them that right, I see few young men more sober and laborious.

The Dutch have a meeting-place for religious worship at Newcastle; and the Swedes, three, one at Christina, one at Tenecum, and one at Wicoco, within half a mile of this town.

There rests that I speak of the condition we are in, and what settlement we have made, in which I will be as short as I can; for I fear, and not without reason, that I have tired your patience with this long story. The country lieth bounded on the east by the river and bay of Delaware, and eastern sea; it hath the advantage of many creeks, or rivers rather, that run into the main river or bay; some navigable for great ships, some for small craft: those of most



WILLIAM PENN'S TREATY OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP WITH THE INDIANS (After an original painting
by Benjamin West)

eminency are Christina, Brandywine, Skilpot, and Schuylkill; any one of which have room to lay up the royal navy of England, there being from four to eight fathom water.

The lesser creeks or rivers, yet convenient for sloops and ketches of good burden, are Lewis, Mespilion, Cedar, Dover, Cranbrook, Feversham, and Georges below, and Chichester, Chester, Toacawny, Pemmapecka, Portquessin, Neshimenck and Pennbery in the freshes, many lesser that admit boats and shallops. Our people are mostly settled upon the upper rivers, which are pleasant and sweet, and generally bounded with good land. The planted part of the province and territories is cast into six counties, Philadelphia, Buckingham, Chester, Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, containing about four thousand souls. Two general assemblies have been held, and with such concord and dispatch, that they sat but three weeks, and at least seventy laws were passed without one dissent in any material thing. But of this more hereafter, being yet raw and new in our gear: however, I cannot forget their singular respect to me in this infancy of things, who by their own private expenses so early considered mine for the public, as to present me with an impost upon certain goods imported and exported: which after my acknowledgment of their affection, I did as freely remit to the province and the traders to it. And for the well-government of the said counties, courts of justice are established in every county, with proper officers, as justices, sheriffs,

clerks, constables, etc., which courts are held every two months: but to prevent lawsuits, there are three peace-makers chosen by every county-court, in the nature of common arbitrators, to hear and end differences betwixt man and man; and spring and fall there is an orphan's court in each county, to inspect and regulate the affairs of orphans and widows.

Philadelphia, the expectation of those that are concerned in this province, is at last laid out, to the great content of those there, that are any ways interested therein: the situation is a neck of land, and lieth between two navigable rivers, Delaware and Schuylkill, whereby it hath two fronts upon the water, each a mile, and two from river to river. Delaware is a glorious river, but the Schuylkill being an hundred miles boatable above the falls, and its course north-east towards the fountain of Susquahannah (that tends to the heart of the province, and both sides our own) it is like to be a great part of the settlement of this age. I say little of the town itself, because a platform will be shown you by my agent, in which those who are purchasers of me, will find their names and interests: but this I will say for the good providence of God, that of all the many places I have seen in the world, I remember not one better seated; so that it seems to me to have been appointed for a town, whether we regard the rivers, or the conveniency of the coves, docks, springs, the loftiness and soundness of the land and the air, held by the people of these parts to be very good. It is advanced within less than

a year to about fourscore houses and cottages, such as they are, where merchants and handicrafts are following their vocations as fast as they can, while the countrymen are close at their farms: some of them got a little winter-corn in the ground last season, and the generality have had an handsome summer-crop, and are preparing for their winter-corn. They reaped their barley this year in the month called May; the wheat in the month following; so that there is time in these parts for another crop of divers things before the winter-season. We are daily in hopes of shipping to add to our number; for, blessed be God, here is both room and accommodation for them; the stories of our necessity being either the fear of our friends, or the scare-crows of our enemies; for the greatest hardship we have suffered, hath been salt meat, which by fowl in winter, and fish in summer, together with some poultry, lamb, mutton, veal, and plenty of venison the best part of the year, hath been made very passable. I bless God, I am fully satisfied with the country and entertainment I get in it; for I find that particular content which hath always attended me, where God in his providence hath made it my place and service to reside. You cannot imagine my station can be at present free of more than ordinary business, and as such, I may say, it is a troublesome work; but the method things are putting in will facilitate the charge, and give an earlier motion to the administration of affairs. However, as it is some men's duty to plow, some to sow, some to water, and some

to reap; so it is the wisdom as well as the duty of a man, to yield to the mind of Providence, and cheerfully, as well as carefully, embrace and follow the guidance of it. . . .

PENN'S TREATY WITH THE INDIANS

Penn's Own Account

ONE of the finest pictures that comes down to us from Colonial days is the benign figure of William Penn standing under the great elm tree at Shackamaxon, arranging a treaty with the Indians, which, as Voltaire said, "was never sworn to and never broken."

The "Great Treaty" of neighborliness and friendship to which Penn seems to refer in this account, was one of a series of treaties, most of which dealt with the purchase of land or the regulation of the trade between Whites and Indians. Each side pledged itself to deal with the other "so long as the creeks and rivers shall run, and the sun, moon and stars shall endure."

It is interesting to note that while the Whites kept minutes of their meetings with the Indians, and recorded the proceedings in their archives, the Indians, as usual, kept only oral records, which were exactly remembered and handed down intact without the loss of a syllable.

EVERY king hath his council, and that consists of all the old and wise men of his nation, which perhaps is two hundred people; nothing of moment is undertaken, be it war, peace, selling of land or traffic, without advising with them; and, which is more, with the young men too. It is admirable to consider, how powerful the kings are, and yet how they move by the breath of their people. I have had occasion to be in council with them upon treaties for land, and to adjust the terms of trade.

Their order is thus: the king sits in the middle of an half moon, and hath his council, the old and wise on each hand; behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger fry, in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved their business,

the king ordered one of them to speak to me; he stood up, came to me, and in the name of his king saluted me, then took me by the hand, and told me, "He was ordered by his king to speak to me; and that now it was not he, but the king that spoke, because what he should say, was the king's mind." He first prayed me, "To excuse them that they had not complied with me the last time; he feared there might be some fault in the interpreter, being neither Indian nor English; besides, it was the Indian custom to deliberate, and take up much time in council, before they resolve; and that if the young people and owners of the land had been as ready as he, I had not met with so much delay."

Having thus introduced his matter, he fell to the bounds of the land they had agreed to dispose of, and the price; which now is little and dear, that which would have brought twenty miles, not buying now two. During the time that this person spoke, not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile; the old grave, the young reverent in their deportment: they speak little, but fervently, and with elegance: I have never seen more natural sagacity, considering them without the help (I was going to say, the spoil) of tradition; and he will deserve the name of wise, that outwits them in any treaty about a thing they understand.

When the purchase was agreed, great promises passed between us of "kindness and good neighborhood, and that the Indians and English must live in

love, as long as the sun gave light." Which done, another made a speech to the Indians, in the name of all the sachamakers or kings; first to tell them what was done; next, to charge and command them "To love the Christians, and particularly live in peace with me, and the people under my government: that many governors had been in the river, but that no governor had come himself to live and stay here before; and having now such an one that had treated them well, they should never do him or his any wrong." At every sentence of which they shouted, and said, Amen, in their way.

The justice they have is pecuniary: in case of any wrong or evil fact, be it murder itself, they atone by feasts, and presents of their wampum, which is proportioned to the quality of the offense or person injured, or of the sex they are of: for in case they kill a woman, they pay double, and the reason they can render, is, "That she breedeth children, which men cannot do." It is rare that they fall out, if sober; and if drunk, they forgive it, saying, "It was the drink, and not the man, that abused them."

We have agreed, that in all differences between us, six of each side shall end the matter: do not abuse them, but let them have justice, and you win them: the worst is, that they are the worse for the Christians, who have propagated their vices, and yielded them tradition for ill, and not for good things. But as low an ebb as these people are at, and as glorious as their own condition looks, the Christians have not outlived

their sight, with all their pretensions to an higher manifestation: what good then might not a good people graft, where there is so distinct a knowledge left between good and evil? I beseech God to incline the hearts of all that come into these parts, to outlive the knowledge of the natives, by a fixed obedience to their greater knowledge of the will of God; for it were miserable indeed for us to fall under the just censure of the poor Indian conscience, while we make profession of things so far transcending.

For their original, I am ready to believe them of the Jewish race; I mean, of the stock of the Ten Tribes, and that for the following reasons; first, they were to go to a "land not planted or known," which, to be sure, Asia and Africa were, if not Europe; and He that intended that extraordinary judgment upon them, might make the passage not uneasy to them, as it is not impossible in itself, from the easternmost parts of Asia, to the westernmost of America. In the next place, I find them of like countenance, and their children of so lively a resemblance, that a man would think himself in Duke's Place or Bury Street in London, when he seeth them. But this is not all; they agree in rites, they reckon by moons; they offer their first-fruits, they have a kind of feast of tabernacles; they are said to lay their altar upon twelve stones; their mourning a year, customs of women, with many things that do not now occur. . . .

THE natives I shall consider in their persons, language, manners, religion, and government, with my sense of their original. For their persons, they are generally tall, straight, well-built, and of singular proportion; they tread strong and clever, and mostly walk with a lofty chin: of complexion, black, but by design, as the gypsies in England. They grease themselves with bears' fat clarified; and using no defense against sun or weather, their skins must needs be swarthy. Their eye is little and black, not unlike a straight-looking Jew. The thick lip and flat nose, so frequent with the East-Indians and Blacks, are not common to them; for I have seen as comely European-like faces among them of both, as on your side the sea; and truly an Italian complexion hath not much more of the white, and the noses of several of them have as much of the Roman.

Their language is lofty, yet narrow; but, like the Hebrew, in signification full; like short-hand in writing, one word serveth in the place of three, and the rest are supplied by the understanding of the hearer: imperfect in their tenses, wanting in their moods, participles, adverbs, conjunctions, interjections: I have made it my business to understand it, that I might not want an interpreter on any occasion: and I must say, that I know not a language spoken in Europe, that hath words of more sweetness or greatness, in accent or emphasis, than theirs: for instance, Octocockon, Rancocas, Oricton, Shak, Marian, Poquesien; all which are names of places, and have

grandeur in them. Of words of sweetness, *anna*, is mother; *issimus*, a brother, *netcap*, friend, *usque oret*, very good, *pane*, bread, *metsa*, eat, *matta*, no, *batta*, to have, *payo*, to come; *Sepassen*, *Passijon*, the names of places; *Tamane*, *Secane*, *Menanse*, *Secatereus*, are the names of persons. If one ask them for anything they have not, they will answer, *Mattá ne battá*, which to translate is, Not I have, instead of, I have not.

Of their customs and manners, there is much to be said; I will begin with children: so soon as they are born, they wash them in water, and while very young, and in cold weather to choose, they plunge them in the rivers to harden and embolden them. Having wrapped them in a clout, they lay them on a straight thin board, a little more than the length and breadth of the child, and swaddle it fast upon the board to make it straight; wherefore all Indians have flat heads: and thus they carry them at their backs. The children will go very young, at nine months commonly; they wear only a small clout round their waist, till they are big; if boys, they go a fishing till ripe for the woods, which is about fifteen; then they hunt, and after having given some proofs of their manhood, by a good return of skins, they may marry, else it is a shame to think of a wife. The girls stay with their mothers, and help to hoe the ground, plant corn, and carry burdens; and they do well to use them to that young, which they must do when they are old; for the wives are the true servants of the husbands; otherwise the men are very affectionate to them.

When the young women are fit for marriage, they wear something upon their heads for an advertisement, but so as their faces are hardly to be seen, but when they please: the age they marry at, if women, is about thirteen and fourteen; if men, seventeen and eighteen; they are rarely elder.

Their houses are mats, or barks of trees, set on poles, in the fashion of an English barn, but out of the power of the winds, for they are hardly higher than a man; they lie on reeds or grass. In travel, they lodge in the woods about a great fire, with the mantle of duffils they wear by day wrapped about them, and a few boughs stuck round about them.

Their diet is maize, or Indian corn, divers ways prepared; sometimes roasted in the ashes, sometimes beaten and boiled with water, which they call hominy; they also make cakes, not unpleasant to eat: they have likewise several sorts of beans and peas, that are good nourishment; and the woods and rivers are their larder.

If an European comes to see them, or calls for lodging at their house, or wigwam, they give him the best place, and first cut. If they come to visit us, they salute us with an itah, which is as much as to say, "Good be to you"; and set them down, which is mostly on the ground, close to their heels, their legs upright; it may be they speak not a word, but observe all passages: if you give them anything to eat or drink, well, for they will not ask; and be it little or

much, if it be with kindness, they are well pleased, else they go away sullen, but say nothing.

They are great concealers of their own resentments, brought to it, I believe, by the revenge that hath been practiced among them: in either of these they are not exceeded by the Italians. A tragical instance fell out since I came into the country: a king's daughter thinking herself slighted by her husband, in suffering another woman to lie down between them, rose up, went out, plucked a root out of the ground, and eat it, upon which she immediately died; and for which, last week, he made an offering to her kindred, for atonement, and liberty of marriage; as two others did to the kindred of their wives, that died a natural death: for till widowers have done so, they must not marry again. Some of the young women are said to take undue liberty before marriage, for a portion; but when married, chaste: when with child they know their husbands no more, till delivered; and during their month, they touch no meat they eat but with a stick, lest they should defile it; nor do their husbands frequent them, till that time be expired.

But in liberality they excel; nothing is too good for their friend: give them a fine gun, coat, or other thing, it may pass twenty hands before it sticks: light of heart, strong affections, but soon spent: the most merry creatures that live, feast and dance perpetually; they never have much, nor want much: wealth circulateth like the blood, all parts partake; and though none shall want another hath, yet exact observers of

property. Some kings have sold, others presented me with several parcels of land: the pay, or presents I made them, were not hoarded by the particular owners, but the neighboring kings and their clans being present when the goods were brought out, the parties chiefly concerned consulted what, and to whom they should give them. To every king then, by the hands of a person for that work appointed, is a proportion sent, so sorted and folded, and with that gravity, that is admirable. Then that king subdivideth it in like manner among his dependents, they hardly leaving themselves an equal share with one of their subjects: and be it on such occasions as festivals, or at their common meals, the kings distribute, and to themselves last. They care for little, because they want but little, and the reason is, a little contents them: in this they are sufficiently revenged on us; if they are ignorant of our pleasures, they are also free from our pains. They are not disquieted with bills of lading and exchange, nor perplexed with chancery-suits and exchequer reckonings. We sweat and toil to live: their pleasure feeds them; I mean their hunting, fishing, and fowling, and this table is spread everywhere: they eat twice a day, morning and evening, their seats and table are the ground. Since the Europeans came into these parts, they are grown great lovers of strong liquors, rum especially; and for it exchange the richest of their skins and furs. If they are heated with liquors, they are restless till they have enough to sleep; that is their cry, "Some more, and I

will go to sleep"; but, when drunk, one of the most wretched spectacles in the world.

In sickness, impatient to be cured, and for it give anything, especially for their children, to whom they are extremely natural: they drink at those times a teran, or decoction of some roots in spring-water; and if they eat any flesh, it must be of the female of any creature. If they die, they bury them with their apparel, be they man or woman, and the nearest of kin fling in something precious with them, as a token of their love: their mourning is blacking of their faces, which they continue for a year: they are choice of the graves of their dead; for lest they should be lost by time, and fall to common use, they pick off the grass that grows upon them, and heap up the fallen earth with great care and exactness.

These poor people are under a dark night in things relating to religion, to be sure the tradition of it; yet they believe a God and immortality, without the help of metaphysics; for they say, "There is a great king that made them, who dwells in a glorious country to the southward of them; and that the souls of the good shall go thither, where they shall live again." Their worship consists of two parts, sacrifice and cantico: their sacrifice is their first-fruits; the first and fattest buck they kill goeth to the fire, where he is all burnt, with a mournful ditty of him that performeth the ceremony, but with such marvelous fervency, and labor of body, that he will even sweat to a foam. The other part is their cantico, performed by round dances,

sometimes words, sometimes songs, then shouts, two being in the middle that begin, and by singing, and drumming on a board, direct the chorus: their postures in the dance are very antic, and differing, but all keep measure. This is done with equal earnestness and labor, but great appearance of joy. In the fall, when the corn cometh in, they begin to feast one another: there have been two great festivals already, to which all come that will: I was at one myself; their entertainment was a great seat by a spring, under some shady trees, and twenty bucks, with hot cakes of new corn, both wheat and beans, which they make up in a square form, in the leaves of the stem, and bake them in the ashes; and after that they fall to dance. But they that go must carry a small present in their money, it may be six-pence, which is made of the bone of a fish; the black is with them as gold, the white, silver; they call it all wampum.

Their government is by kings, which they call Sachama, and those by succession, but always of the mother's side: for instance, the children of him that is now king, will not succeed, but his brother by the mother, or the children of his sister, whose sons (and after them the children of her daughters) will reign, for no woman inherits: the reason they render for this way of descent, is, that their issue may not be spurious.

M. ROBERT CAVELIER DE LA SALLE

By Father Louis Hennepin

MR. C. DE LA SALLE was a person qualified for the greatest undertakings, and may be justly ranked amongst the most famous travelers that ever were. This will appear to whomsoever will consider that he spent his own estate about (in carrying out) the greatest, most important, and most perilous discovery that has been yet made. His design was to find out a passage from the northern to the south sea. . . . The river Mississippi does not indeed run that way, but he was in hopes by means of that river to discover some other river running into the south sea. In order whereunto he endeavored to find by sea the mouth of the Mississippi, which discharges itself into the Gulf of Mexico, to settle there a colony, and build a good fort to be as his magazine, and serve as a retreat both by sea and by land, in case of any mishap.

He made his proposals to the French king's council, who, approving the design, his most Christian Majesty gave him all necessary authority and supplied him with ships, men, and money. . . . They sailed from Rochelle, August the 5th, 1684, and passing by Martenico and Guadaloupe, took in fresh provisions and water, with divers volunteers. The ketch being separated by storm, was taken by the Spaniards, the other three ships arrived about the middle of Feb-

ruary, in the bay of Spiritosanto, and about ten leagues off found a large bay, which M. de la Salle took for the right arm of the Mississippi, and called it St. Louis. . . .

M. de la Salle . . . resolved to travel along the coast to find out the mouth of the Mississippi, and, leaving the inhabitants and soldiers who were to remain in the fort, set out with twenty men and M. Cavelier his brother. The continual rains made the ways very bad, and swelled several small rivulets, which gave him a world of trouble. At last, on the 13th of February, 1686, he thought to have found his so much wished for river; and having fortified a post on its banks, and left part of his men for its security, he returned to his fort the 31st of March, charmed with his discovery. But this joy was overbalanced by grief for the loss of his frigate. This was the only ship left unto him, with which he intended to sail in a few days for St. Domingo, to bring a new supply of men and goods to carry on his design; . . .

M. de la Salle seeing all his affairs ruined by the loss of his ship, and having no way to return into Europe but by Canada, resolved upon so dangerous a journey, and took twenty men along with him, with one savage called Nicana, who had followed him into France, and had given such proofs of his affection to his Master, that he relied more upon him than upon any European. . . . Having assisted at the divine service in the chapel of the fort, to implore God's mercy and protection, he set out the 22nd of April,

1686, directing his march to the northeast. . . . They tarried two whole months, being reduced to the greatest extremities. Their powder was almost spent, though they were not advanced above one hundred and fifty leagues in a direct line. Some of his men had deserted; others began to be irresolute, and all these things being carefully considered, M. de la Salle resolved to return to Fort Louis. . . .

He remained two months and a half at Fort Louis, during which time he forgot not to comfort his small colony, which began to multiply, several children being born since their arrival. . . . Then taking twenty men with him, with his brother, his two nephews, Father Anastasius, and the Sieur Joutel, after public prayer, he set out a second time from Fort Louis and resolved not to return till he had found the Illinois.

M. de la Salle set out from the fort the 7th. of January, 1687; and having crossed the river Salbondière and Hiens, with divers others which were mightily swollen by the rains, they came into a fine country for hunting, where his people refreshed themselves after their tiresome travel, with excellent good cheer for several days together. . . .

With all his prudence, he could not discover the conspiracy of some of his people to kill his nephew: for they resolved upon it, and put it in execution, all of a sudden, on the 17th of March, wounding him in the head with a hatchet. . . . But these wretches, not content with this bloody deed, resolved to kill

their Master too, for they feared he would justly punish them for their crime. . . .

M. de la Salle was two leagues from the place where Moranger was killed, and being concerned at his nephews' tarrying so long (for they had been gone two or three days), was afraid they were surprised by the savages; whereupon he desired Father Anastasius to accompany him in looking after his nephews, and took two savages along with him. . . . He went to them and inquired for his nephew; they made little answer, but pointed to the place where he lay. Father Anastasius and he kept going on by the riverside, till at last they came to the fatal place, where two of the villains lay hid in the grass; one on one side, and one on the other, with their pieces cocked. The first presented at him but missed fire; the other fired at the same time, and shot him in the head, of which he died, an hour after, March 19th, 1687. . . .

LETTER FROM ELIOT TO HON. ROBERT BOYLE

THE first Bible ever to be printed in America was printed in the Indian language by its translator, John Eliot, the "Indian Apostle," and a little group of his friends, with funds furnished, as will be seen from the letter reprinted here, by charitably disposed persons in England.

The letter is dated from Roxbury, April 22, 1684, with the following salutation: "Right Honorable and Indefatigable Benefactor."

John Eliot was one Puritan minister—he came to America in 1631—who was not tainted by bigotry. He was the true saintly type, without fanaticism, without spiritual pride, without ambition. He was remarkable for his meekness, mildness and generosity, so forgetful of himself in his devotion to his parishioners and the Indians, that his household affairs would have gone badly but for the good wife who cared for him.

He was the first man to carry the gospel to the Indian, and probably the first champion of the negro in this country.

Your honor's intimation hath the force of a command upon me, and therefore I shall briefly relate the religious walking and ways of the praying Indians.

THIS last gift of four hundred pounds for the reimpression of the Indian bible doth set a diadem of beauty upon all your former acts of pious charity, and commandeth us to return unto your honors all thankful acknowledgments, according to our abilities. It pleased the worshipful Mr. Stoughton to give me an intimation, that your honors desired to know the particular present estate of the praying Indians; and also, when Moses's Pentateuch is printed, to have some copies sent over, to evidence the real and good progress of the work.

They do diligently observe and keep the sabbath, in all the places of their public meetings to worship God. The example of the English churches, and the authority of the English laws, which Major Gookin doth declare unto them, together with such mulcts, as are inflicted upon transgressors; as also and especially, the clear and express command of God, which they and their children learn and rehearse daily in their catechisms; these all together have fully possessed and convinced them of their duty, to keep holy the sabbath day. So that the sanctifying of the sabbath is a great and eminent part of their religion. And though some of the vain and carnal sort among them are not so girt to it, as were to be desired, yet the grave and religious sort do constantly worship God, every sabbath day, both morning and evening, as the English do.

The acts of worship, which they perform in their public meetings, are as followeth.

The officer beginneth with prayer, and prayeth for all men, rulers, ministers, people, young, old, sick, well, English or Indians, etc., according to that word, 1 Tim. ii. 12. I will that first of all prayers be made, etc. I say, the officer beginneth with prayer, viz. where they have an officer ordained, as it is almost in all the churches. But we have more public assemblies, that meet every Lord's day, to worship God, than we have churches. There is not yet a church gathered in every place, where they meet to worship God and keep the sabbath; but where it is so, they

choose some able godly man (the best they can) to manage the worship among them: him they call their teacher, and he beginneth with prayer, etc. When prayer is ended, they call forth such as are to answer the catechism; and though this is sometimes omitted in some places, yet that is the way they walk in, and it is often practiced. When catechism is ended, a chapter is read, sometimes in the old testament, and sometimes in the new; and sundry of the young men are trained up, and called forth to this service, sometimes one, sometimes another.

When the chapter is read, a psalm is sung, which service sundry are able to manage well.

That finished, the preacher first prayeth, then preacheth, and then prayeth again. If it be the day for the Lord's supper to be celebrated, the church address themselves unto it, and the minister doth exactly perform it, according to the scriptures. When that service is done, they sing a psalm, according to the pattern of Christ; then he blesseth the church, and so finisheth the morning service.

In the afternoon they meet again, and perform all the parts of worship, as they did in the morning; which done, if there be any infant to be baptized, they perform that service according to the scriptures; which done, the deacon calleth for contributions; which done, if there be any act of public discipline (as divers times there is, there being many failures among us) then the offender is called forth (being with care and diligence prepared) and is exhorted to

give glory to God, and confess his sin; which being penitent, they gladly accept him, forgive him, and receive him. If it be not a satisfactory confession, they show him his defect, they admonish and exhort him to a more full confession; and so he is left to some other time. This finished, he blesseth the church, and so dismisseth the assembly.

Moreover, Major Gookin hath dedicated his eldest son, Mr. Daniel Gookin, unto this service of Christ; he is a pious and learned young man, about thirty-three years old, hath been eight years a fellow of the college; he hath taught and trained up two classes of our young scholars unto their commencement; he is a man, whose abilities are above exception, though not above envy. His father, with his inclination, advised him to Sherburne, a small village near Natick, whose meeting-house is about three miles, more or less, from Natick meeting-house. Mr. Gookin holdeth a lecture in Natick meeting-house once a month; which lecture, many English, especially of Sherburne, do frequent. He first preacheth in English, to the English audience, and then the same matter is delivered to the Indians, by an interpreter, whom, with much pains, Mr. Gookin hath fore-prepared. We apprehend, that this will (by God's blessing) be a means to enable the Indians to understand religion preached in the English tongue, and will much further Mr. Gookin in learning the Indian tongue. Likewise Major Gookin holdeth and manageth his courts in the English tongue; which doth greatly

further the Indians in learning law and government in the English tongue; which is a point of wisdom in civilizing them, that your honors have manifested your desires, that it might be attended.

The places, where the Indians meet to worship God, and sanctify the sabbath, are many; the most are stated places, others are occasional. The stated places, in the Massachusetts, since the wars, are contracted into four, Natick, Ponkipog, Wameset, and Chachau-bunkkakowok. The occasional meetings are at places of fishing, hunting, gathering chestnuts, in their seasons. Also since the wars, the Mauquaoy, making incursions upon the praying Indians, did cause them to make divers forts, to live safely in, and then they did there meet to worship God, and keep the sabbath.

In Plymouth Patent, there are about ten places, where they meet to worship God.

An intelligent person, of Martyn's Vineyard, reckoned up unto me ten places, where God is worshiped every Lord's day in that island.

At Nantucket there be about five places of prayer and keeping sabbaths.

The reason of this dispersion of places of public meeting to worship God, is this; there is but here and there a spot of good land, fit for planting corn, with accommodation of fishing; these spots of good land lie at a great distance from each other; some four or five miles, some eight or nine miles: some ten or twelve miles, so that it is impossible for them, especially with women and children, to meet at one place;

therefore all, that live together at one place, meet to worship God on the sabbath day. . . .

As for the sending any numbers of Moses's Pentateuch, I beseech your honors to spare us in that; because so many as we send, so many bibles are maimed, and made incomplete, because they want the five books of Moses. We present your honors with one book, so far as we have gone in the work, and humbly beseech, that it may be acceptable, until the whole be finished; and then the whole impression (which is two thousand) is at your honor's command. Our slow progress needeth an apology. We have been much hindered by the sickness this year. Our workmen have been all sick, and we have but few hands, one Englishman, and a boy, and one Indian; and many interruptions and diversions do befall us; and we could do but little this very hard winter. But I shall give your honors no further trouble at this time, only requesting the continuance of your prayers and protection. So I remain,

Your honor's to serve you in our Lord Jesus.

LEISLER'S REBELLION

By "A Gentleman of the City of New York"

LEISLER, a fur-trader and merchant, rose to prominence in the three years following the English Revolution of 1688. The New York militia, inspired by the example of Massachusetts, rose up against James II's Royal Governor, and put Leisler at the head of a Committee of Safety, in the name of King William and Queen Mary.

He took the title of Lieutenant-Governor, ousted the former officials, fought a battle with the French and Indians at Schenectady, fortified New York against the possibility of bombardment by a French fleet, and in May, 1690, assembled the first intercolonial congress to plan an expedition against Canada.

Though his enemies overcame him and secured his execution, Leisler's son appealed the case to England, and in 1695 obtained the restoration of his father's confiscated estates, and a reversal of the bill of attainder.

This account written by a contemporary and evidently an enemy does scant justice to the character of Jacob Leisler.

France, and that it was expected war would be soon proclaimed between England and France.

The Lieutenant Governor, Francis Nicholson, and

I CANNOT but admire to hear that some gentlemen still have a good opinion of the late disorders committed by Captain Jacob Leisler, and his accomplices, in New York, as if they had been for his Majesty's service, and the security of that province; and that such monstrous falsehoods do find credit, . . .

It was about the beginning of April, 1689, when the first reports arrived at New York, that the Prince of Orange, now his present Majesty, was arrived in England with considerable forces, and that the late King James was fled into

the Council, being Protestants, resolved thereupon to suspend all Roman Catholics from command and places of trust in the government, . . .

And because but three members of the council were residing in New York, . . . It was resolved by the said Lieutenant Governor and Council, to call and convene to their assistance all the Justices of the Peace, and other civil magistrates, and the Commission Officers in the province, for to consult and advise with them what might be proper for the preservation of the peace, and the safety of said province in that conjuncture, till orders should arrive from England.

Whereupon the said justices, magistrates and officers were accordingly convened, and styled by the name of The General Convention for the Province of New York; and all matters of government were carried on and managed by the major vote of that convention.

And in the first place it was by them agreed and ordered, forthwith to fortify the city of New York. . . .

But against expectation, it soon happened, that on the last day of said month of May, Captain Leisler having a vessel with some wines in the road, for which he refused to pay the duty, did in a seditious manner stir up the meanest sort of the inhabitants (affirming that King James being fled the kingdom, all manner of government was fallen in this province) to rise in arms, and forcibly possess themselves of the fort and stores, which accordingly was effected while

the Lieutenant Governor and Council, with the convention, were met at the city hall to consult what might be proper for the common good and safety; where a party of armed men came from the fort, and forced the Lieutenant Governor to deliver them the keys; and seized also in his chamber a chest with seven hundred seventy-three pounds, twelve shillings in money of the government. And though Colonel Bayard, with some others appointed by the convention, used all endeavors to prevent those disorders, all proved vain; for most of those that appeared in arms were drunk, and cried out, they disowned all manner of government. Whereupon, by Captain Leisler's persuasion, they proclaimed him to be their commander, there being then no other commission officer among them.

Captain Leisler being in this manner possessed of the fort, took some persons to his assistance, which he called the committee of safety. And the Lieutenant Governor, Francis Nicholson being in this manner forced out of his command, for the safety of his person, which was daily threatened, withdrew out of the province. . . .

The said Captain Leisler finding almost every man of sense, reputation or estate in the place to oppose and discourage his irregularities, caused frequent false alarms to be made, and sent several parties of his armed men out of the fort, dragged into nasty jails within said fort several of the principal magistrates, officers and gentlemen, and others, that would not

own his power to be lawful, which he kept in close prison during will and pleasure, without any process, or allowing them to bail. And he further published several times, by beat of drums, that all those who would not come into the fort and sign their hands, and so thereby to own his power to be lawful, should be deemed and esteemed as enemies to his Majesty and the country, and be by him treated accordingly. By which means many of the inhabitants, though they abhorred his actions, only to escape a nasty jail, and to secure their estates, were by fear and compulsion drove to comply, submit and sign to whatever he commanded. . . .

Upon the 10th of December following returned the said Mr. John Riggs from England, with letters from his Majesty and the Lords, in answer to the letters sent by the Lieutenant Governor and Council above recited, directed to our trusty and well-beloved Francis Nicholson, Esq; our Lieutenant Governor and commander in chief of our province of New York in America, and in his absence to such as for the time being, take care for the preservation of the peace, and administering the laws in our said province. . . .

Soon after the receipt of said letters said Captain Leisler styled himself Lieutenant Governor, appointed a council, and presumed further to call a select number of his own party, who called themselves the general assembly of the province, and by their advice and assistance raised several taxes and great sums of money from their Majesty's good subjects within this

province. Which taxes, together with that 773l. 12s. in money, which he had seized from the Government, and the whole revenue, he applied to his own use, and to maintain said disorders, allowing his private men 18d. per day, and to others proportionably.

On the 20th of January following Colonel Bayard and Mr. Nicolls had the ill fortune to fall into his hands, and were in a barbarous manner, by a party in arms, dragged into the fort, and there put into a nasty place, without any manner of process, or being allowed to bail, . . .

None in the province, but those of his faction, had any safety in their estates; for said Captain Leisler, at will and pleasure, sent to those who disapproved of his actions, to furnish him with money, provisions, and what else he wanted, and upon denial, sent armed men out of the fort, and forcibly broke open several houses, shops, cellars, vessels, and other places, where they expected to be supplied, and without any the least payment or satisfaction, carried their plunder to the fort; . . .

In this calamity, misery and confusion was this province, by those disorders, enthralled near the space of two years, until the arrival of his Majesty's forces, under the command of Major Ingoldsby, who, with several gentlemen of the council, arrived about the last day of January, 1690, which said gentlemen of the council, for the preservation of the peace, sent and offered to said Leisler, that he might stay and continue his command in the fort, only desiring for

themselves and the King's forces quietly to quarter and refresh themselves in the city, till Governor Slaughter should arrive; but . . . the said Leisler proceeded to make war against them and the King's forces, and fired a vast number of great and small shot in the city, whereby several of his Majesty's subjects were killed and wounded as they passed in the streets upon their lawful occasions, though no opposition was made on the other side.

At this height of extremity was it when Governor Slaughter arrived on the 19th of March, 1691, who having published his commission from the city hall, with great signs of joy, by firing all the artillery within and round the city, sent thrice to demand the surrender of the fort from Captain Leisler and his accomplices, which was thrice denied, but upon great threatenings, the following day surrendered to Governor Slaughter, who forthwith caused the said Captain Leisler, with some of the chief malefactors to be bound over to answer their crimes at the next Supreme Court of Judicature, where the said Leisler and his pretended Secretary Miliborn did appear, but refused to plead to the indictment of the grand jury, or to own the jurisdiction of that court; and so after several hearings, as mutes, were found guilty of high treason and murder, and executed accordingly. . . .

PHIPPS, THE FIRST OF OUR SELF-MADE MEN

By the Reverend Cotton Mather

SIR WILLIAM PHIPPS, the first royal Governor of Massachusetts and high sheriff of New England, has the distinction of being the prototype of the American self-made man. Also he was the first American-born colonist to receive the honor of knighthood.

This biography of Phipps, by Cotton Mather, for many years pastor of the North Church in Boston, is taken from his *Magnalia*, (London, 1702), regarded as the most important book of American authorship in colonial times. Phipps and the author were close friends; in fact, it was through the influence of Cotton Mather's father, Increase Mather, the agent of the colony in England, that Phipps was appointed Governor of Massachusetts, under the new charter.

Phipps was a man of great energy and determination; and he appears to have been strictly honest in his private dealings, though he deemed it no sin to steal from Frenchmen.

WILLIAM PHIPPS was born Feb. 2, 1650, at a despicable plantation on the river of Kennebeck, and almost the furthest village of the Eastern Settlement of New-England. And as the father of that man, which was as great a blessing as England had in the age of that man, was a Smith, so a gunsmith, namely, James Phipps, once of Bristol, had the honor of being the father to him, whom we shall presently see, made by the God of Heaven as great a blessing to New England, as that county could have

had, if they themselves had pleased. His fruitful mother, yet living, had no less than twenty-six children, whereof twenty-one were sons; but equivalent to them all was William, one of the youngest,

whom his father dying, left young with his mother, and with her he lived, keeping of sheep in the wilderness, until he was eighteen years old; at which time he began to feel some further dispositions of mind from that providence of God which took him from the sheepfolds, from following the ewes great with young, and brought him to feed his people. . . .

His friends earnestly solicited him to settle among them in a plantation of the east; but he had an unaccountable impulse upon his mind, persuading him, as he would privately hint unto some of them, that he was born to greater matters. To come at those greater matters, his first contrivance was to bind himself an apprentice unto a ship-carpenter for four years in which time he became a master of the trade, that once in a vessel of more than forty thousand tons, repaired the ruins of the earth; Noah's, I mean; he then betook himself an hundred and fifty miles further afield, even to Boston, the chief town of New-England; which being a place of the most business and resort in those parts of the world, he expected there more commodiously to pursue the *spes majorum et meliorum*, Hopes which had inspired him.

At Boston, where it was that he now learned, first of all, to read and write, he followed his trade for about a year; and by a laudable deportment, so recommended himself, that he married a young gentlewoman of good repute, who was the widow of one Mr. John Hull, a well-bred merchant, but the daughter of one Captain Roger Spencer, a person of good

fashion, who having suffered much damage in his estate, by some unkind and unjust actions, which he bore with such patience, that for fear of thereby injuring the public, he would not seek satisfaction, posterity might afterward see the reward of his patience, in what Providence hath now done for one of his own posterity. Within a little while after his marriage, he indented with several persons in Boston, to build them a ship at Sheeps-coat River, two or three leagues eastward of Kennebeck; where having launched the ship, he also provided a lading of lumber to bring with him, which would have been to the advantage of all concerned. But just as the ship was hardly finished, the barbarous Indians on that river, broke forth into an open and cruel war upon the English; and the miserable people, surprised by so sudden a storm of blood, had no refuge from the infidels, but the ship now finishing in the harbor. Whereupon he left his intended lading behind him, and instead thereof, carried with him his old neighbors and their families, free of all charges, to Boston; so the first action that he did, after he was his own man, was to save his father's house, with the rest of the neighborhood, from ruin; but the disappointment which befell him from the loss of his other lading, plunged his affairs into greater embarrassments with such as had employed him.

But he was hitherto no more than beginning to make scaffolds for further and higher actions! He would frequently tell the gentlewoman his wife, that

he should yet be captain of a king's ship; that he should come to have the command of better men than he was now accounted himself; and, that he should be owner of a fair brick-house in the green-lane of North-Boston; and, that, it may be, this would not be all that the Providence of God would bring him to. She entertained these passages with a sufficient incredulity; but he had so serious and positive an expectation of them, that it is not easy to say, what was the original thereof. He was of an enterprising genius, and naturally disdained littleness: But his disposition for business was of the Dutch mould, where, with a little show of wit, there is as much wisdom demonstrated, as can be shown by any nation. His talent lay not in the airs that serve chiefly for the pleasant and sudden turns of conversation; but he might say, as Themistocles, though he could not play upon a fiddle, yet he know how to make a little city become a great one. He would prudently contrive a weighty undertaking, and then patiently pursue it unto the end. He was of an inclination, cutting rather like a hatchet, than like a razor; he would propose very considerable matters to himself, and then so cut through them, that no difficulties could put by the edge of his resolutions. Being thus of the true temper, for doing of great things, he betakes himself to the sea, the right scene for such things; and upon advice of a Spanish wreck about the Bahama's, he took a voyage thither; but with little more success, than what just served him a little to

furnish him for a voyage to England; whither he went in a vessel, not much unlike that which the Dutchmen stamped on their first coin, with these words about it, *Incertum quo Fata ferant*. Having first informed himself that there was another Spanish wreck, wherein was lost a mighty treasure, hitherto undiscovered, he had a strong impression upon his mind that he must be the discoverer; and he made such representations of his design at White-Hall, that by the year 1683 he became the captain of a King's ship, and arrived at New England commander of the *Algier-Rose*, a frigate of eighteen guns, and ninety-five men. . . .

. . . Now with a small company of other men he sailed from thence to Hispaniola, where by the policy of his address, he fished out of a very old Spaniard, (or Portuguese) a little advice about the true spot where lay the wreck which he had been hitherto seeking, as unprosperously, as the Chemists have their *Aurisick Stone*: That it was upon a reef of shoals, a few leagues to the northward of *Port de la Plata*, upon Hispaniola, a port so called, it seems, from the landing of some of the shipwrecked company, with a boat full of plate, saved out of their sinking frigate. Nevertheless, when he had searched very narrowly the spot, whereof the old Spaniard had advised him, he had not hitherto exactly lit upon it. Such thorns did vex his affairs while he was in the *Rose-frigate*; but none of all these things could retund the edge of his expectations to find the wreck; with such expectations he returned then into England, that he

might there better furnish himself to prosecute a new discovery; . . .

So proper was his behavior, that the best noblemen in the kingdom now admitted him into their conversation; but yet he was opposed by powerful enemies, that clogged his affairs with such demurrages and such disappointments, as would have wholly discouraged his designs, if his patience had not been invincible. He who can wait, hath what he desireth. This his indefatigable patience, with a proportionable diligence, at length overcame the difficulties that had been thrown in his way; and prevailing with the Duke of Albemarle, and some other persons of quality, to fit him out, he set sail for the fishing-ground, which had been so well baited half a hundred years before: . . . Nevertheless, as they were upon the return, one of the men looking over the side of the Periaga, into the calm water, he spied a sea feather, growing, as he judged, out of a rock; whereupon they bade one of their Indians to dive and fetch this feather, that they might however carry home something with them, and make, at least, as fair a triumph as Caligula's. The diver bringing up the feather, brought therewithal a surprising story, that he perceived a number of great guns in the watery world where he had found his feather; the report of which great guns exceedingly astonished the whole company; and at once turned their despondencies for their ill success into assurances, that they had now lit upon the true spot of ground which they had been looking for; and they

were further confirmed in these assurances, when upon further diving, the Indian fetched up a sow, as they styled it, or a lump of silver, worth perhaps two or three hundred pounds. . . . and they so prospered in this new fishery, that in a little while they had, without the loss of any man's life, brought up thirty-two tons of silver; for it was now come to measuring of silver by tons. . . .

But there was one extraordinary distress which Captain Phipps now found himself plunged into: For his men were come out with him upon seamen's wages, at so much per month; and when they saw such vast litters of silver sows and pigs, as they call them, come on board them at the captain's call, they knew not how to bear it, that they should not share all among themselves, and be gone to lead a short life and a merry, in a climate where the arrest of those that had hired them should not reach them. . . . Captain Phipps now coming up to London in the year 1687, with near three hundred thousand pounds sterling aboard him, did acquit himself with such an exemplary honesty, that partly by his fulfilling his assurances to the seamen, and partly by his exact and punctual care to have his employers defrauded of nothing that might conscientiously belong unto them, he had less than sixteen thousand pounds left unto himself: As an acknowledgment of which honesty in him, the Duke of Albemarle made unto his wife, whom he never saw, a present of a golden cup, near a thousand pounds in value. The character of an

honest man he had so merited in the whole course of his life, and especially in this last act of it, that this, in conjunction with his other serviceable qualities, procured him the favors of the greatest persons in the nation; and he that had been so diligent in his business, must now stand before kings, and not stand before mean men. . . . Accordingly the king, in consideration of the service done by him, in bringing such a treasure into the nation, conferred upon him the honor of knighthood; and if we now reckon him, A Knight of the Golden Fleece, the style might pretend unto some circumstances that would justify it. Or call him, if you please, The Knight of Honesty; for it was honesty with industry that raised him; . . .

. . . Indeed, when King James offered, as he did, unto Sir William Phipps an opportunity to ask what he pleased of him, Sir William generously prayed for nothing but this, That New England might have its lost privileges restored. The king then replied, Anything but that! Whereupon he set himself to consider what was the next thing that he might ask for the service, not of himself, but of his country. The result of his consideration was, that by petition to the king, he obtained, with expense of some hundreds of guineas, a patent, which constituted him the high sheriff of that country; hoping, by his deputies in that office, to supply the country still with conscientious juries, which was the only method that the New Englanders had left them to secure anything that was dear unto them. . . .

WITCHCRAFT IN NEW ENGLAND

By Robert Calef

SALEM and witchcraft have so long been associated in the general mind that some surprise attends the statement that women were stoned as witches in ancient Rome. During the Middle Ages the usual punishment of witches was burning.

For two centuries the destruction wrought by the witch superstition was terrible. In France alone the number of victims has been estimated at 300,000. An English law against witchcraft was rigorously enforced throughout the seventeenth century. At the same time prosecutions for witchcraft occurred in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Virginia and elsewhere in the colonies, though the only extensive panic was the one at Salem, in 1692, inflamed by the extravagant opinions of Cotton Mather.

Robert Calef was a Boston merchant of fair education, who lived through the Salem frenzy and wrote a book in defiance of the Mathers that gave the final blow to the witchcraft delusion in New England.

MR. PARRIS had been some years a minister in Salem Village, when this sad calamity, as a deluge, overflowed them, spreading itself far and near. He was a gentleman of liberal education; and, not meeting with any great encouragement, or advantage, in merchandising, to which for some time he applied himself, betook himself to the work of the ministry; this village being then vacant, he met with so much encouragement, as to settle in that capacity among them.

After he had been there about two years, he obtained a grant from a

part of the town, that the house and land he occupied, and which had been allotted by the whole people to the ministry, should be and remain to him, etc.,

as his own estate in fee simple. This occasioned great divisions both between the inhabitants themselves, and between a considerable part of them and their said minister; which divisions were but as a beginning, or proæludium, to what immediately followed.

It was the latter end of February, 1691, when divers young persons belonging to Mr. Parris's family, and one or more of the neighborhood, began to act after a strange and unusual manner, viz., as by getting into holes, and creeping under chairs and stools, and to use sundry odd postures and antic gestures, uttering foolish, ridiculous speeches, which neither they themselves nor any others could make sense of. The physicians that were called could assign no reason for this; but it seems one of them, having recourse to the old shift, told them he was afraid they were bewitched. Upon such suggestions, they that were concerned applied themselves to fasting and prayer, which was attended not only in their own private families, but with calling in the help of others. March the 11th, Mr. Parris invited several neighboring ministers to join with him in keeping a solemn day of prayer at his own house. The time of the exercise, those persons were for the most part silent; but after any one prayer was ended, they would act and speak strangely and ridiculously; yet were such as had been well educated, and of good behavior; the one, a girl of 11 or 12 years old, would sometimes seem to be in a convulsion fit, her limbs being twisted

several ways, and very stiff, but presently her fit would be over. . . .

Those ill affected or afflicted persons named several that they said they saw, when in their fits, afflicting them.

The first complained of was the said Indian woman, named Tituba: she confessed that the devil urged her to sign a book, which he presented to her, and also to work mischief to the children, etc. She was afterwards committed to prison, and lay there till sold for her fees. The account she since gives of it is, that her master did beat her, and otherways abuse her, to make her confess and accuse (such as he called) her sister-witches; and that whatsoever she said by way of confessing, or accusing others, was the effect of such usage: her master refused to pay her fees, unless she would stand to what she had said.

The children complained likewise of two other women, to be the authors of their hurt, viz., Sarah Good, who had long been counted a melancholy or distracted woman; and one Osborn, an old bed-ridden woman; which two were persons so ill thought of, that the accusation was the more readily believed; and, after examination before two Salem magistrates, were committed. March the 19th, Mr. Lawson (who had been formerly a preacher at the said village) came thither, and hath since set forth, in print, an account of what then passed; about which time, as he saith, they complained of goodwife Cory, and goodwife Nurse, members of churches at the Village and at

Salem, many others being by that time accused. . . .

August 5. The court again sitting, six more were tried on the same account, viz., Mr. George Burroughs, some time minister of Wells, John Proctor, and Elizabeth Proctor his wife, with John Willard, of Salem Village, George Jacobs, Sr., of Salem, and Martha Carrier, of Andover; these were all brought in guilty, and condemned; and were all executed, August 19, except Proctor's wife, who pleaded pregnancy.

Mr. Burroughs was carried in a cart with the others, through the streets of Salem to execution. When he was upon the ladder, he made a speech for the clearing of his innocency, with such solemn and serious expressions, as were to the admiration of all present: his prayer (which he concluded by repeating the Lord's prayer) was so well worded, and uttered with such composedness, and such (at least seeming) fervency of spirit, as was very affecting and drew tears from many, so that it seemed to some that the spectators would hinder the execution. The accusers said the black man stood and dictated to him.

As soon as he was turned off, Mr. Cotton Mather, being mounted upon a horse, addressed himself to the people, partly to declare that he [Burroughs] was no ordained minister, and partly to possess the people of his guilt, saying that the devil has often been transformed into an angel of light; and this did somewhat appease the people and the executions went on. When he was cut down, he was dragged by the halter

to a hole, or grave, between the rocks, about two foot deep, his shirt and breeches being pulled off, and an old pair of trousers of one executed put on his lower parts; he was so put in, together with Willard and Carrier, that one of his hands and his chin, and a foot of one of them, were left uncovered. . . .

And now nineteen persons having been hanged, and one pressed to death, and eight more condemned, in all twenty-eight, of which above a third part were members of some of the churches in New England, and more than half of them of a good conversation in general, and not one cleared; about fifty having confessed themselves to be witches, of which not one executed; above an hundred and fifty in prison, and above two hundred more accused; the special commission of oyer and terminer comes to a period, which has no other foundation than the governor's commission; and had proceeded in the manner of swearing witnesses, viz., by holding up the hand (and by receiving evidences in writing), according to the ancient usage of this country; as also having their indictments in English.

In the trials, when any were indicted for afflicting, pining and wasting the bodies of particular persons by witchcraft, it was usual to hear evidence of matter foreign, and of perhaps twenty or thirty years standing, about oversetting carts, the death of cattle, unkindness to relations, or unexpected accidents befalling after some quarrel. Whether this was admitted by the law of England, or by what other law, wants

to be determined; the executions seemed mixed, in pressing to death for not pleading, which most agrees with the laws of England, and sentencing women to be hanged for witchcraft, according to the former practice of this country, and not by burning, as is said to have been the law of England. And though the confessing witches were many, yet not one of them that confessed their own guilt, and abode by their confession, was put to death. . . .

THE FOUNDING OF WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE

GRANTS of land for a college near Richmond, Virginia, were obtained back in 1619, and a collegiate school was established at Charles City as early as 1621, but Indian massacres in 1622 smothered the undertaking. The grants were renewed in 1660, and in 1693 King William and Queen Mary set their seals to a charter, and James Blair became first president of William and Mary College, the second oldest college in the United States, presently built in Williamsburg, then capital of Virginia.

During the Revolution the college was used as a troop barracks. It recovered and was in session until the Civil War, when it was occupied by Federal troops and much of its property destroyed. Not until 1888 did it secure State assistance and begin to grow again. Among its distinguished list of graduates are Presidents Jefferson, Monroe, Tyler, and Harrison, Chief Justice John Marshall, and General Winfield Scott.

it was one part of their design that this college should be a seminary for the breeding of good ministers, with which they were but very indifferently supplied from

IN THE year 1691, Colonel Nicholson being Lieutenant Governor, the General Assembly considering the bad circumstances of the country for want of education for their youth, went upon a proposition of a college, to which they gave the name of William and Mary.

They proposed that in this college there should be three schools, viz. a Grammar School, for teaching the Latin and Greek tongues: a Philosophical School for philosophy and mathematics: and a Divinity School, for the oriental tongues and divinity; for

abroad: They appointed what masters should be in each of these schools, and what salaries they should have.

For the government and visitation of this college, they appointed a college-senate, which should consist of 18, or any other number not exceeding 20, who were then the Lieutenant-Governor, four gentlemen of the council, four of the clergy, and the rest named out of the House of Burgesses, with power to them to continue themselves by election of a successor in the room of any one that should die, or remove out of the country.

They petitioned the King that he would make these men trustees for founding and building this college, and governing it by such rules and statutes, as they, or the major part of them, should from time to time appoint. Accordingly, the King passed his charter under the great seal of England for such a college, and contributed very bountifully, both to the building and endowment of it. Toward the building he gave near 2000 pounds in ready cash, out of the bank of quit-rents, in which Governor Nicholson left at that time about 4500 pounds. And towards the endowment the King gave the neat produce of the penny per pound in Virginia and Maryland, worth 200 pounds per annum, and the surveyor general's place, worth about 50 pounds per annum, and the choice of 10,000 acres of land in Panmuckey Neck, and 10,000 more on the south side of the Blackwater swamp, which were tracts of land till that time prohibited to be taken

up. The General Assembly also gave the college a duty on skins and furs, worth better than 100 pounds a year, and they got subscriptions in Virginia in Governor Nicholson's time for about 2500 pounds towards the building.

With these beginnings the trustees of the college went to work, but their good Governor, who had been the greatest encourager in that country of this design, (on which he has laid out 350 pounds of his own money) being at that time removed from them, and another put in his place that was of a quite different spirit and temper, they found their business go on very heavily, and such difficulties in everything, that presently upon change of the governor they had as many enemies as ever they had had friends; such an universal influence and sway has a person of that character in all affairs of that country. The gentlemen of the council, who had been the forwardest to subscribe, were the backwardest to pay; then every one was for finding shifts to evade and elude their subscriptions; and the meaner people were so influenced by their countenance and example, (men being easily persuaded to keep their money) that there was not one penny got of new subscriptions, nor paid of the old 2500 pounds but about 500 pounds. Nor durst they put the matter to the hazard of a lawsuit, where this new Governor and his favorites were to be their judges.

Thus it was with the funds for building: And they fared little better with the funds for endowments;

for notwithstanding the first choice they are to have of the land by the charter, patents were granted to others for vast tracts of land, and every one was ready to oppose the college in taking up the land; their survey was violently stopped, their chain broke, and to this day they can never get to the possession of the land. But the trustees of the college being encouraged with a gracious letter the King wrote to the Governor to encourage the college, and to remove all the obstructions of it, went to work, and carried up one-half of the designed quadrangle of the building, advancing money out of their own pockets, where the donations fell short. They founded their Grammar School, which is in a very thriving way; and having the clear right and title to the land, would not be baffled in that point, but have struggled with the greatest man in the government, next the Governor, i.e. Mr. Secretary Wormley, who pretends to have a grant in futuro for no less than 13,000 acres of the best land in Panmuckey Neek.

The cause is not yet decided, only Mr. Secretary has again stopped the chain, which it is not likely he would do, if he did not know that he should be supported in it. The collectors of the penny per pound likewise are very remiss in laying their accounts before the Governors of the college, according to the instructions of the commissioners of the customs, so that illegal trade is carried on, and some of these gentlemen refuse to give any account upon oath. This

is the present state of the college. It is honestly and zealously carried on by the trustees, but is in danger of being ruined by the backwardness of the government. . . .

THE SETTLEMENT OF LOUISIANA

By *Bénard De La Harpe*

THE manuscript, from which this account of the settlement of Louisiana is taken, came into Thomas Jefferson's possession more than 100 years ago. In a letter to James Monroe, dated from Monticello, February 4th, 1816, Jefferson writes: "On our acquisition of that country (Louisiana), there was found in the possession of the family of the late Governor Mes-sier, a most valuable and original MS. history of the settlement of Louisiana by the French, written by Bénard De La Harpe, a principal agent through the whole of it. . . . The history bears such marks of authenticity as place it beyond question. Governor Claiborne obtained the MS. for us, and thinking it too hazardous to risk its loss by the way, unless a copy were retained, he had a copy taken. The original having arrived safe at Washington, he sent me the copy, which I now have. . . . It is my wish to deposit the copy for safe-keeping with the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia."

instructions for him to join in the expedition to the Mississippi River. . . . On the 6th of February, M. d'Iberville anchored off the pass, between Horn and

ON THE 24th of September, 1698, two frigates, *Le Badine*, of thirty guns and two hundred men, commanded by M. d'Iberville; and *Le Marin*, of thirty guns, commanded by M. la Comte de Surgère, with two store-ships, were fitted out by order of the King, and sailed from Rochefort to plant a colony on the Mississippi. On the 4th of December, they arrived at Cape François, St. Domingo, where they found M. le Marquis de Chateaumorant, who commanded the frigate *Le Français*, of fifty guns, to whom M. d'Iberville delivered in-

Ship Island, which he named, and finding it difficult to enter this channel, he sailed four leagues further to the west, where he discovered the Chandeleur Islands. . . .

On the 27th M. d'Iberville and Bienville embarked in two feluccas, with Father Anatase and thirty men each, to explore the mouths of the Mississippi River. On the 2nd of March they entered a large river, which Father Anatase, who had accompanied M. de la Salle, recognized as the Mississippi from the appearance of its turbid waters. On the 7th, having advanced forty leagues up the river, they perceived at some distance three canoes filled with Indians, who all fled except one man, to whom they gave some presents, and learned from him that they belonged to the Bayagoula nation. They met several canoes of Indians belonging to the Ouacha nation, living near the fork of the Mississippi, who told them that they did not live far from the Chitimachas nation.

On the 14th they arrived at the Bayagoula and Mongaulacha nations, numbering about eight hundred warriors. They found here several cloaks, which had been given them by M. de la Salle. . . . It was here, while looking for Father Anatase's breviary, they found several prayer books in an Indian basket, in which were written the names of several Canadians who had accompanied the late M. de la Salle down the river; together with a letter addressed to him by Chevalier de Tonty, informing him "that having learned of his departure from France to form a settle-

ment on this river, he had descended it as far as the sea with twenty Canadians and thirty Chaounans," from the neighborhood of the Ouabache. This discovery now relieved them from all doubts of the river they were in, and they ascertained the mouth of the Mississippi to be in about twenty-nine degrees north latitude. . . .

On the 12th of April M. d'Iberville set out to visit a bay about nine leagues from Ship Island, to which he gave the name of St. Louis. On finding the water very shallow there, he concluded to fix his settlement at Biloxi. Here he built a fort with four bastions, which he mounted with twelve cannons, and gave the command of it to his brothers Sauvolle and Bienville; and having manned it with a force of thirty-five men, he set sail for France on the 4th of May. . . .

On the 7th of December, a salute was fired at the fort, announcing the arrival of MM. d'Iberville and La Surgere, in the ships *Renommé* of fifty, and the *Gironde* of forty-six guns, with many officers and passengers. . . . M. Le Sueur also came as a passenger in the *Gironde*. He had acquired celebrity by his travels in Canada; and was now sent on the part of M. L'Huillier, Farmer General, to make a settlement on the Mississippi, and to work some mines there which he had discovered some years before.

M. d'Iberville was informed of the attempt of the English to find the Mississippi, and he resolved to make a settlement on its banks. He accordingly set sail on two shallops, with fifty men, and arrived in

the river on the 15th of January, 1700. He had previously sent in M. de Bienville to the Bayagoulas to procure guides, and to select a place above inundation. They conducted him to a ridge, of high land, at a distance of about eighteen leagues from the sea. Four days after, M. d'Iberville arrived there and commenced building a fort. . . .

. . . On the 28th of May, 1700, M. d'Iberville set sail for France, and on the same day M. de Bienville took command of the fort on the Mississippi. On the 29th he dispatched M. de Saint Denis to explore the country in the Red River, and to watch the Spaniards. On the 30th of May, 1701, the *Enflammée* of twenty-six guns, commanded by M. de la Ronde, arrived at Ship Island. Among the passengers was M. Sagan, a traveler from Canada, who had presented a memoir to the minister, M. de Pontchartrain, assuring him that he had traveled all over the Mississippi, and had found mines of gold on its banks; and that the Indians had worked them. The minister, putting faith in his statements, granted to M. Sagan some privileges, and ordered M. de Sauvolle to supply him with twenty-four pirogues and one hundred Canadians, to accompany him to the Missouri.

On the 22d of August, M. de Sauvolle died at Biloxi, and M. de Bienville was left sole commander of the colony.

On the 16th of September, a party of Chactas arrived at Biloxi to demand of the French some troops to assist them to fight the Chicachas. The Chactas

nation contained forty villages, and over five thousand warriors. On the 25th of October, twenty Mobileans arrived at Fort Biloxi. This nation was situated about one hundred and forty leagues up that river, and contained about four hundred men. On the 18th of December, a shallop arrived from Pensacola with the news that MM. d'Iberville and Serigny had arrived there with the King's ships, the *Renommée* of fifty guns, and the *Palmier* of forty-four guns. This news spread joy in the garrison, as it had then been living on corn for more than three months. It had lost by sickness upwards of sixty men, leaving only one hundred and fifty persons in the colony.

M. de Bienville received orders by the shallop to evacuate Biloxi, and remove to Mobile River. On the 5th of January, 1701, M. de Bienville took up his march for the Mobile River, leaving but twenty men under the command of M. de Boisbriant to man the fort. At Dauphin Island, M. de Bienville had an interview with MM. de Serigny and Chateaugué, who had arrived there with a detachment of sailors and workmen, to build a magazine for the reception of the goods and provisions which had been brought from France. On the 16th M. de Bienville commenced a settlement on the Mobile River, about eighteen leagues from the sea. On the 10th M. le Sueur returned from his expedition to the Scioux, with two hundred thousand pounds weight of copper ore.

The following is an extract taken from his Journal:

"Having arrived in the colony in December, 1699, with thirty workmen, he set out for the Tamarois in June, 1700. He stopped at the mouth of the Missouri River, and from thence proceeded to the Illinois River, where he was joined by three Canadian travelers, who brought him a letter from Father Marest, a Jesuit from the mission house of 'L'Immaculée Conception de la Sainte Vierge aux Illinois.'

"At twenty-two leagues above the Illinois, he passed a small river, which he named the Buffalo: and on going nine leagues further he met a party of Canadians descending the Mississippi, returning to the Illinois. On the 30th July, he met seventeen Scioux in seven canoes, going to avenge the death of three Scioux by the Illinois, one of whom had been burnt, and the other two killed at Tamarois, a few days before his arrival at this village. He promised the Chief of the Illinois to pacify the Scioux if they should come to make war on him. He presented to the chief of the party some merchandise to induce him to return to his nation. He told him that the King of France did not wish them to make war, and if he would desist he should be supplied with everything necessary. The chief accepted the presents, and promised to obey the King. . . .

"On the 1st September, he passed the Wisconsin river, which is about half a league wide at its mouth. On ascending this river about forty-five leagues, he found a portage of more than a mile in length, consist-

ing in part of marshy ground, from which a little stream took its rise and flowed into the Puan bay, inhabited by a great number of Indian tribes, who trade in furs to Canada. . . .

“From the 10th to the 14th, M. de Sueur traveled seventeen leagues and a half, passed the river Raisin, and also on the same day a great river coming from the North called the Bon-Secours, on account of the great number of buffalo, deer, bears and roebucks found there. Three leagues from the banks of this river is a lead mine, and at seven leagues above, on the same side, he passed another river, in the neighborhood of which he discovered a copper mine, from which he took sixty pounds of ore in a former voyage: but to make it of any value, a peace must first be made between the Scioux and the Outagamis. At a league and a half further to the North-West is a lake, six leagues long and more than a league in width, called Lake Pepin. . . .

“. . . On the 15th he passed a small river, and saw several canoes descending, filled with Indians. He heard them make a noise similar to that just before they are going to fall upon their enemy; and, having placed his men behind some trees, he ordered them not to fire until the word of command was given. The chief of the party, after making some observations, advanced with the calumet, (which is a sign of peace among the Indians,) and said that, not having seen before any Frenchmen navigating the Mississippi

in boats like theirs, they took them to be English, and raised the war-cry.

"M. le Sueur told them that the King of France, of whom they had heard so much in Canada, had sent him to settle in the country, and he wished all the nations who inhabited it, as well as those under his protection, to live in peace. . . .

". . . He then entered Blue River [Minnesota], so called from some mines of blue earth which he found on its banks. At this place he met nine Scioux, who told him that this river came from the country of the Scioux of the West. He built a post here, but finding that his establishment did not please the Scioux of the East as well as the neighboring tribes, he had to tell them that his intentions were only to trade in beaver skins, although his real purpose was to explore the mines in this country, which he had discovered some years before.

"He then presented them with some powder, balls, knives and tobacco, and invited them to come to his fort, as soon as it was constructed, and he would tell them the intentions of the King his master. The Scioux of the West have, according to the accounts of those of the East, more than a thousand huts.

"They do not use canoes or cultivate the land, but wander in the prairies between the upper Mississippi and the Missouri, and live by hunting.

"All the Scioux say they have three souls, and that after death the good one goes to a warm country, the bad one to a cold country, and the third watches the

body. They are very expert with their bows. Polygamy is very common among them. They are extremely jealous, and sometimes fight duels for their wives. They make their huts out of buffalo skins, sewed together, and carry them with them. Two or three families generally live together. They are great smokers. They swallow the smoke, but some time after they force it up from their stomach through their nose. . . .

"On the 1st of December, they invited M. le Sueur to a great feast which they had prepared for him. They made a speech, and presented him with a slave and a sack of oats. . . ."

On the 18th of March, 1702, M. d'Iberville arrived at Dauphin Island, in the frigate *Palmier*, which he brought into port without any difficulty, there being twenty-one feet or more of water at the pass. On the 19th, M. de la Salle arrived with his family at For[t] Mobile, which had just been finished, and the headquarters of the colony about to be removed there from Dauphin [Massacre] Island. On the 25th, M. de Tonty, who had been sent by M. d'Iberville on a mission to the Chactas and Chicachas, arrived at Mobile, bringing with him some of the principal chiefs of those nations, to make a treaty of peace. By presents and entreaties M. d'Iberville made them agree to live in peace together. On the 27th, M. d'Iberville returned to Dauphin Island, and from thence he went to Pensacola. On the 13th of April, M. Dugue arrived with a transport laden with provisions. On

the 31st, M. d'Iberville and de Serigny departed for France. On the 12th of May, eight Alibamon Chiefs arrived at Mobile to consult with M. de Bienville whether they should continue to war with the Chicachas, Tomes, and Mobilians. He advised them to make a peace, and gave them some presents for this purpose. On the 24th of June, a Spanish shallop arrived from Pensacola, on board of which was Don José de Roblas, Captain of Infantry, and a son of the nurse of Count de Montezuma, bringing a letter from Francisco Martin, Governor of Pensacola, asking to be supplied with some provisions, which M. de Bienville granted.

On the 10th of August, M. de Bienville was informed that M. St. Denis and some Canadians had invaded the territory of our allies to capture slaves, which he ordered to be restored.

On the 1st of October, M. Davion, missionary, and Father Limoge, a Jesuit, arrived from the Mississippi, to give notice that one of their brethren and three Frenchmen had been murdered on the Yasous River, by two young Courois, who had acted as their guides.

On the 11th of November, Don Francisco Martin arrived from Pensacola, with the news that France and Spain were at war with England, and asked for a supply of arms and powder, which was given him.

ESTABLISHING THE COLONY OF GEORGIA

By General James Edward Oglethorpe

FORTUNATELY for what is now the State of Georgia, the unhappy death of a friend of James Edward Oglethorpe's in an English debtor's prison drew his attention to the horrible abuses of that institution and inspired him to found the colony, named after King George II, which was planned to be an asylum for insolvent British subjects. In 1732 Oglethorpe and others obtained a charter granting them a large territory between the Altamaha and Savannah Rivers.

Oglethorpe, as Governor, sailed with 120 colonists and founded the town of Savannah, remaining nine years. Aside from his administrative activity, his claim to distinction in colonial history lies in his determined efforts to stem the Spanish tide of colonization and conquest in the South. In 1742 forces led by General Oglethorpe dealt a crushing blow to an invading Spanish host, thereby assuring the colony immunity from further attack. Its defense cost Oglethorpe his fortune.

IN America there are fertile lands sufficient to subsist all the useless poor in England, and distressed Protestants in Europe; yet thousands starve for want of mere sustenance. The distance makes it difficult to get thither. The same want that renders men useless here, prevents their paying their passage; and if others pay it for them, they become servants, or rather slaves for years to those who have defrayed the expense. Therefore, money for passage is necessary, but is not the only want; for if people were set down in America, and the land before

them, they must cut down trees, build houses, fortify towns, dig and sow the land before they can get in a harvest; and till then, they must be provided with

food, and kept together, that they may be assistant to each other for their natural support and protection.

The Romans esteemed the sending forth of colonies, among their noblest works; they observed that Rome, as she increased in power and empire, drew together such a conflux of people from all parts that she found herself over-burdened with their number, and the government brought under an incapacity to provide for them, or keep them in order. Necessity, the mother of invention, suggested to them an expedient, which at once gave ease to the capital, and increased the wealth and number of industrious citizens, by lessening the useless and unruly multitude; and by planting them in colonies on the frontiers of their empire, gave a new strength to the whole; and this they looked upon to be so considerable a service to the commonwealth, that they created peculiar officers for the establishment of such colonies, and the expense was defrayed out of the public treasury.

From the Charter.—His Majesty having taken into his consideration, the miserable circumstances of many of his own poor subjects, ready to perish for want: as likewise the distresses of many poor foreigners, who would take refuge here from persecution; and having a princely regard to the great danger the southern frontiers of South Carolina are exposed to, by reason of the small number of white inhabitants there, has, out of his fatherly compassion towards his subjects, been graciously pleased to grant a charter for incorporating a number of gentlemen by the name

of "The trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America." They are empowered to collect benefactions; and lay them out in clothing, arming, sending over, and supporting colonies of the poor, whether subjects or foreigners, in Georgia. And his Majesty farther grants all his lands between the rivers Savannah and Alatomaha, which he erects into a province by the name of Georgia, unto the trustees, in trust for the poor, and for the better support of the colony.

At the desire of the gentlemen, there are clauses in the charter, restraining them and their successors from receiving any salary, fee, perquisite, or profit, whatsoever, by or from this undertaking; and also from receiving any grant of lands within the said district, to themselves, or in trust for them. There are farther clauses granting to the trustees proper powers for establishing and governing the colony, and liberty of conscience to all who shall settle there.

The trustees intend to relieve such unfortunate persons as cannot subsist here, and establish them in an orderly manner, so as to form a well regulated town. As far as their fund goes, they will defray the charge of their passage to Georgia; give them necessaries, cattle, land, and subsistence, till such time as they can build their houses and clear some of their land. They rely for success, first on the goodness of providence, next on the compassionate disposition of the people of England; and, they doubt not, that much will be spared from luxury, and superfluous expenses, by generous tempers, when such an opportunity is

offered them by the giving of £20 to provide for a man or woman, or £10 to a child forever.

In order to prevent the benefaction given to this purpose, from ever being misapplied; and to keep up, as far as human precaution can, a spirit of disinterestedness, the trustees have established the following method: that, each benefactor may know what he has contributed is safely lodged, and justly accounted for, all money given will be deposited in the Bank of England; and entries made of every benefaction, in a book to be kept for that purpose by the trustees; or, if concealed, the names of those, by whose hands they sent their money. There are to be annual accounts of all the money received, and how the same has been disposed of, laid before the Lord High Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, the Master of the Rolls, the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, or two of them, will be transmitted to every considerable benefactor.

By such a colony, many families, who would otherwise starve, will be provided for, and made masters of houses and lands; the people in Great Britain to whom these necessitous families were a burden, will be relieved; numbers of manufacturers will be here employed, for supplying them with clothes, working tools, and other necessities; and by giving refuge to the distressed Saltzburghers, and other persecuted Protestants, the power of Britain, as a reward for its

hospitality, will be increased by the addition of so many religious and industrious subjects.

The colony of Georgia lying about the same latitude with part of China, Persia, Palestine, and the Madeiras, it is highly probable that when hereafter it shall be well-peopled and rightly cultivated, England may be supplied from thence with raw silk, wine, oil, dyes, drugs, and many other materials for manufactures, which she is obliged to purchase from southern countries. As towns are established and grow populous along the rivers Savannah and Alatamaha, they will make such a barrier as will render the southern frontier of the British colonies on the continent of America, safe from Indian and other enemies.

All human affairs are so subject to chance, that there in [is] no answering for events; yet from reason and the nature of things, it may be concluded, that the riches and also the number of the inhabitants in Great Britain will be increased, by importing at a cheap rate from this new colony, the materials requisite for carrying on in Britain several manufactures. For our manufacturers will be encouraged to marry and multiply, when they find themselves in circumstances to provide for their families, which must necessarily be the happy effect of the increase and cheapness of our materials of those manufactures, which at present we purchase with our money from foreign countries, at dear rates; and also many people will find employment here, on account [of] such farther demands by the people of this colony,

for those manufactures which are made for the produce of our own country; and, as has been justly observed, the people will always abound where there is full employment for them.

Christianity will be extended by the execution of this design; since, the good discipline established by the society, will reform the manners of those miserable objects, who shall be by them subsisted; and the example of a whole colony, who shall behave in a just, moral, and religious manner, will contribute greatly towards the conversion of the Indians, and taking off the prejudices received from the profligate lives of such who have scarce anything of Christianity but the name.

The trustees in their general meetings, will consider of the most prudent methods for effectually establishing a regular colony; and that it may be done, is demonstrable. Under what difficulties, was Virginia planted?—the coast and climate then unknown; the Indians numerous, and at enmity with the first planters, who were forced to fetch all provisions from England; yet it is grown a mighty province, and the revenue receives £100,000 for duties upon the goods that they send yearly home. Within this 50 years, Pennsylvania was as much a forest as Georgia is now; and in these few years, by the wise economy of William Penn, and those who assisted him, it now gives food to 80,000 inhabitants, and can boast of as fine a city as most in Europe.

This new colony is more likely to succeed than either of the former were, since Carolina abounds with provisions, the climate is known, and there are men to instruct in the seasons and nature of cultivating the soil. There are but few Indian families within 400 miles; and those, in perfect amity with the English:—Port Royal (the station of his Majesty's ships) is within 30, and Charlestown (a great mart) is within 120 miles. If the colony is attacked, it may be relieved by sea, from Port Royal, or the Bahamas; and the militia of South Carolina is ready to support it, by land.

For the continuing the relief which is now given, there will be lands reserved in the colony; and the benefit arising from them is to go to the carrying on of the trust. So that, at the same time, the money by being laid out preserves the lives of the poor, and makes a comfortable provision for those whose expenses are by it defrayed; their labor in improving their own lands will make the adjoining reserved lands valuable; and the rents of those reserved lands will be a perpetual fund for the relieving more poor people. So that instead of laying out the money upon lands, with the income thereof to support the poor, this is laying out money upon the poor; and by relieving those who are now unfortunate, raises a fund for the perpetual relief of those who shall be so hereafter.

There is an occasion now offered for every one, to help forward this design; the smallest benefaction

will be received, and applied with the utmost care:— every little will do something; and a great number of small benefactions will amount to a sum capable of doing a great deal of good.

If any person, moved with the calamities of the unfortunate, shall be inclined to contribute towards their relief, they are desired to pay their benefactions into the Bank of England, on account of the trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America; or else, to any of the trustees, who are, &c.

INDENTURED "WHITE SLAVES" IN THE COLONIES

By William Eddis

INDENTURED white servants—virtually slaves—existed in large numbers in the colonies. This writer, William Eddis, who was surveyor of customs at Annapolis, Maryland, and remained loyal to England during the Revolutionary War, paints a dark picture of the barbarous custom. The time of which he writes was six years before the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

It was a common English practice to "transport" criminals instead of hanging them, and it is estimated that 50,000 convicts came over. As examples, a Scotchman was sold to life-slavery in America for burning a Bible; and in 1736 a London barrister stole books and was sentenced to seven years of servitude in Virginia. The notorious Judge Jeffreys assigned over 800 persons to be thus indentured; and after the battle of Worcester, in 1650, about 1000 prisoners met the same fate.

able to pay the expense of passage, are free to pursue their fortune agreeably to their inclinations or abilities. Few, however, have means to avail themselves of this advantage. These unhappy beings are,

PERSONS in a state of servitude are under four distinct denominations: negroes, who are the entire property of their respective owners: convicts, who are transported from the mother country for a limited term: indented servants, who are engaged for five years previous to their leaving England; and free-willers, who are supposed, from their situation, to possess superior advantages. . . .

Persons convicted of felony, and in consequence transported to this continent, if they are

generally, consigned to an agent, who classes them suitably to their real or supposed qualifications; advertises them for sale, and disposes of them, for seven years, to planters, to mechanics, and to such as choose to retain them for domestic service. Those who survive the term of servitude, seldom establish their residence in this country: the stamp of infamy is too strong upon them to be easily erased: they either return to Europe, and renew their former practices; or, if they have fortunately imbibed habits of honesty and industry, they remove to a distant situation, where they may hope to remain unknown, and be enabled to pursue with credit every possible method of becoming useful members of society. . . .

The generality of the inhabitants in this province are very little acquainted with those fallacious pretenses, by which numbers are continually induced to embark for this continent. On the contrary, they too generally conceive an opinion that the difference is merely nominal between the indented servant and the convicted felon: nor will they readily believe that people, who had the least experience in life, and whose characters were unexceptionable, would abandon their friends and families, and their ancient connections, for a servile situation, in a remote appendage to the British Empire. From this persuasion they rather consider the convict as the more profitable servant, his term being for seven, the latter only for five years; and, I am sorry to observe, that there are but few instances wherein they experience different

treatment. Negroes being a property for life, the death of slaves, in the prime of youth or strength, is a material loss to the proprietor; they are, therefore, almost in every instance, under more comfortable circumstances than the miserable European, over whom the rigid planter exercises an inflexible severity. They are strained to the utmost to perform their allotted labor; and, from a prepossession in many cases too justly founded, they are supposed to be receiving only the just reward which is due to repeated offenses.

There are doubtless many exceptions to this observation. Yet, generally speaking, they groan beneath a worse than Egyptian bondage. By attempting to enlighten the intolerable burden, they often render it more insupportable. For real or imaginary causes, these frequently attempt to escape, but very few are successful; the country being intersected with rivers, and the utmost vigilance observed in detecting persons under suspicious circumstances, who, when apprehended, are committed to close confinement, advertised, and delivered to their respective masters; the party who detects the vagrant being entitled to a reward. Other incidental charges arise. The unhappy culprit is doomed to a fevered chastisement; and a prolongation of servitude is decreed in full proportion to expenses incurred, and supposed inconveniences resulting from a desertion of duty.

The situation of the free-willer is, in almost every instance, more to be lamented than either that of the

convict or the indented servant; the deception which is practiced on those of this description being attended with circumstances of greater duplicity and cruelty. Persons under this denomination are received under express conditions that, on their arrival in America, they are to be allowed a stipulated number of days to dispose of themselves to the greatest advantage. They are told, that their services will be eagerly solicited, in proportion to their abilities; that their reward will be adequate to the hazard they encounter by courting fortune in a distant region; and that the parties with whom they engage will readily advance the sum agreed on for their passage; which, being averaged at about nine pounds sterling, they will speedily be enabled to repay, and to enjoy, in a state of liberty, a comparative situation of ease and affluence.

With these pleasing ideas they support with cheerfulness, the hardships to which they are subjected during the voyage; and with the most anxious sensations of delight, approach the land which they consider as the scene of future prosperity. But scarce have they contemplated the diversified objects which naturally attract attention; scarce have they yielded to pleasing reflection, that every danger, every difficulty, is happily surmounted, before their fond hopes are cruelly blasted, and they find themselves involved in all the complicated miseries of a tedious, laborious and unprofitable servitude.

Persons resident in America being accustomed to procure servants for a very trifling consideration, under absolute terms, for a limited period, are not often disposed to hire adventurers, who expect to be gratified in full proportion to their acknowledged qualifications; but, as they support authority with a rigid hand, they little regard the former situation of their unhappy dependants.

This disposition, which is almost universally prevalent, is well known to the parties, who on your side of the Atlantic engage in this iniquitous and cruel commerce.

. . . It is, therefore, an article of agreement with these deluded victims, that if they are not successful in obtaining situations, on their own terms, within a certain number of days after their arrival in the country, they are then to be sold, in order to defray the charges of passage, at the discretion of the master of the vessel, or the agent to whom he is consigned in the province.

THE SPANISH SETTLE IN CALIFORNIA

By Josiah Royce

IN addition to being a recognized authority on the early history of California, and the author of "California from the Conquest in 1846 to the Second Vigilance Committee in San Francisco," the fame of Professor Royce is world-wide as a metaphysician and philosopher. As an historian he was prominent in what is known as the Cabrillo National Movement, which some years ago established as a memorial to the pioneer Spanish explorer, Juan Roderiguez Cabrillo, at Point Loma, California, a tract of land containing 21,910 square feet within the Fort Rosecrans reservation, of historic interest as the spot where Cabrillo first landed on our Pacific Coast.

That was in 1542. In the subsequent mission period of sixty-five years it is significant that over 80,000 Indians were converted, at least \$1,000,000 worth of buildings were erected in the wilderness, and that stock and wheat raising was developed on an astonishing scale.

these the definitive name Alta (Upper) California at last came, being applied to the territory during the whole period of the Mexican Republican ownership.

THE settlements of the Spanish missionaries within the present limits of the State of California date from the first foundation of San Diego in 1769. The missions that were later founded north of San Diego were, with the original establishment itself, for a time known merely by some collective name, such as the Northern Missions. But later the name California, already long since applied to the country of the peninsular missions to the southward, was extended to the new land, with various prefixes or qualifying phrases; and out of

As to the origin of the name California, no serious question remains but that this name, as first applied, between 1535 and 1539 to a portion of Lower California, was derived from an old printed romance, the one which Edward Everett Hale rediscovered in 1862, and from which he drew this now accepted conclusion. In this romance the name California was already before 1520 applied to a fabulous island, described as near the Indies and also "very near the Terrestrial Paradise." Colonists whom Cortez brought to the newly discovered peninsula in 1535, and who returned the next year, may have been the first to apply the name to this supposed island, on which they had been for a time resident.

The coast of Upper California was first visited during the voyage of the explorer Juan Cabrillo in 1542-43. Several landings were then made on the coast and on the islands, in the Santa Barbara region. Cabrillo himself died during the expedition (on January 3, 1543) and the voyage was continued by his successor, Ferralo, who sailed as far north as 42° . The whole undertaking resulted in some examination of the coast line as far as Cape Mendocino, and in a glimpse of the native population that lived along the southern shores of the present State.

In 1579 Drake's famous visit took place. During the latter half of June and nearly the whole of July of that year he remained in what "The World Encompassed" calls a "convenient and fit harbor" (about $38^{\circ} 30'$), where the ship was grounded for repairs,

and where the expedition had considerable intercourse with the natives.

One of the accounts complains, in extravagant fashion, of the chilly air and of the fogs of the region, and, in general, we get information from the accounts about the "white banks and cliffs, which lie toward the sea," and hear about what we now know as the Farallones, the rocky islets that lie just outside what we call the Golden Gate. While the other details of the stories, as given, are obviously in large part imaginary, there can be no doubt that Drake did land near this point on the coast, and did find a passable harbor, where he stayed some time.

It is, however, almost perfectly sure that he did not enter or observe the Golden Gate, and that he got no sort of idea of the existence of the great Bay; while for the rest, it is and must remain quite uncertain what anchorage he discovered, although the chances are in favor of what is now called Drake's Bay, under Point Reyes. This result of the examination of the evidence about Drake's voyage is now fairly well accepted although some people will always try to insist that Drake discovered the Bay of San Francisco.

The name San Francisco was probably applied to a port on this coast for the first time by Cermeñon, who, in a voyage from the Philippines in 1595, ran ashore while exploring the coast near Point Reyes. It is now perfectly sure that neither he nor any other Spanish navigator before 1769 applied this name to

our present bay, which remained utterly unknown to Europeans during all this period.

The name Port of San Francisco was given by Vizcaino, and by later navigators and geographers, to the bay under Point Reyes, characterized by the whitish cliffs and by the rocky islets in the ocean in front of it. The coincidence of the name San Francisco with the name of Sir Francis Drake is remarkable, but doubtless means nothing. Christian names are, after all, limited in number; and those who applied this name to the new port were Spaniards and Catholics, while Drake was a free-booter and an Englishman.

In 1602-3, Sebastian Vizcaino conducted a Spanish expedition along the California coast. He visited San Diego and Monterey bays, saw during his various visits on shore a good deal of the natives, and in January 1603, anchored in the old Port of San Francisco under Point Reyes. From this voyage a little more knowledge of the character of the coast was gained; and thenceforth geographical researches in the region of California ceased for over a century and a half.

With only this meager result we reach the era of the first settlement of Upper California. The missions of the peninsula of Lower California passed, in 1767, by the expulsion of the Jesuits, into the hands of the Franciscans; and the Spanish Government, whose attention was attracted in this direction by the changed conditions, ordered the immediate prosecution of a long-cherished plan to provide the Manilla

ships, on their return voyage, with good ports of supply and repairs, and to occupy the northwest land as a safeguard against Russian or other aggressions.

For the accomplishment of this end the occupation of the still but vaguely known harbors of San Diego and Monterey was planned. The zeal of the Franciscans for the conversion of the gentiles of the north seconded the official purposes, and in 1768 the Visitador General of New Spain, José de Galvez, took personal charge at La Paz of the preparation of an expedition intended to begin the new settlement in the north. The official purpose here, as in older mission undertakings, was a union of physical and spiritual conquest, soldiers under a military governor coöperating to this end with missionaries and mission establishments. The natives were to be overcome by arms in so far as they might resist the conquerors, were to be attracted to the missions by peaceable measures in so far as might prove possible, were to be instructed in the faith, and were to be kept for the present under the paternal rule of the clergy, until such time as they might be ready for a free life as Christian subjects.

Meanwhile, Spanish colonists were to be brought to the new land as circumstances might determine, and, to these, allotments of land were in some fashion to be made. No grants of land in a legal sense were made or promised to the mission establishments, whose position was to be merely that of spiritual institutions, intrusted temporarily with the education

of neophytes, and with the care of the property that should be given or hereafter produced for this purpose. On the other hand, government tended to regard the missions as purely subsidiary to its purposes, the outgoing missionaries to this strange land were so much the more certain to be quite uncorrupted by worldly ambitions, by a hope of acquiring wealth, or by any intention to found a powerful ecclesiastical government in the new colony. They went to save souls, and their motive was as single as it was worthy of reverence.

In the sequel the more successful missions in Upper California became, for a time, very wealthy; but this was only by virtue of the gifts of nature and of the devoted labors of the padres. . . .

Thus began the career of Spanish discovery and settlement in California. The early years show a generally rapid progress, only one great disaster occurring,—the destruction of San Diego Missions in 1775, by assailing Indians. But this loss was quickly repaired. In 1770 the Mission of San Carlos was founded at Monterey. In 1772, a land expedition, under Fages and Crespi, first explored the eastern shore of our San Francisco Bay, in an effort to reach by land the old Port of San Francisco. This expedition discovered the San Joaquin River, and, unable to cross it, returned without attaining the object of the exploration.

After 1775 the old name began to be generally applied to the new bay, and so, thenceforth, the name

Port of San Francisco means what we now mean thereby. In 1775, Lieutenant Ayala entered the new harbor by water. In the following year the Mission at San Francisco was founded, and in October its church was dedicated. Not only missions, however, but pueblos, inhabited by Spanish colonists, lay in the official plan of the new undertakings. The first of these to be established was San José founded in November 1777. The next was Los Angeles, founded in September 1781.

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